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Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, especially
in its relations to Israel: five lectures delivered

1909

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THE RELIGION OF
BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA
ESPECIALLY IN ITS RELATIONS
TO ISRAEL

FIVE LECTURES DELIVERED AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

By ✓

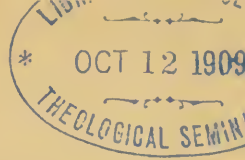
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and Assyria" in Two Volumes



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TO
JOSEPH ASHBROOK
OF PHILADELPHIA
COUNSELOR OF MY YOUTH
FRIEND OF MY MANHOOD

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PREFACE

IN the month of July, 1908, I delivered at Harvard University, in the Summer School of Theology, five lectures which are now put into this little book. They are printed substantially as they were delivered, though a few passages have been several times rewritten in an earnest endeavor after lucidity and cogency. I am grateful to my Harvard colleagues for this pleasant opportunity to associate myself for even a brief season with a great school of scholars with whom my relations have always been friendly, and from whom I have had much stimulus and not a little encouragement. But for their courteous invitation I should probably not have turned aside from other labors to write this little essay.

Since 1883 all the time that I have been able to reserve from bread-earning labor has gone into Assyrian investigation. In that brief period I have seen the science of Assyriology expand from a small discipline chiefly philological in character, unprovided even with a printed lexicon, into a vast complex of philology, archæology, anthropology, and cultural, political, and religious history. No one man can any longer have equal command in every portion

of a field so extensive, and what was once a single subject is now perforce divided into many specialties. Almost from the beginning my own studies were carried chiefly into the historical side of Assyriology—a great field in itself, and ever filled with surprises. From an unsympathetic narrowness I have been delivered by the calling which bade me teach the Old Testament in Hebrew to successive companies of young men. The history of the Babylonians and Assyrians played well into the teaching of those Hebrew prophets, whose preaching has Babylonian, Assyrian, and Chaldean kings and armies for a background. The Old Testament religion also early quickened my interest in the religion of the great peoples of the Tigris and Euphrates, with whom Israel had so many common experiences. With sympathetic interests, therefore, both in history and in religion, among the Assyrians and Babylonians on the one side, as also in the Old Testament upon the other, I have lived daily for years in an ever fresh readjustment of my views concerning their mutual relationship. Nothing written by any serious student, who had made an effort to understand either side of this great problem, found me with unawakened interest. My pupils have revealed to me their difficulties, and these have been constantly an incitement to new effort. My occasional intercourse with Professor Morris Jastrow, on this side of the At-

lantic, and my close friendship with Professors Friedrich Delitzsch, of Berlin, Karl Marti, of Bern, and A. H. Sayce, of Oxford, on the other side, have kept this interest in a glow of enthusiasm. These lectures, however inadequate they may finally seem to be, were written and delivered in a white heat, and represent all that I can now do in helping others to a vivid picture of Israel's religious association with Babylonia, or in solving the extremely difficult problems which recent research, critical, archæological, and religious, have put before us. That the solutions which I here offer are *final* I do not dream for a moment; that they are worth consideration I firmly believe; that they have helped me I know. I have tried honestly to give credit for all that I have taken from others. If I have carried off unacknowledged some precious bit of another's work I shall be sorry, and ready to apologize. If I have overlooked a side light that might illuminate a dark corner the next comer will be pretty certain to take cheerful pleasure in gently indicating my delinquency.

The book has a peculiarity which may perhaps need a word of justification. The citations from Babylonian and Assyrian texts are *very long*. This interrupts the argument in a good many places, and in some makes the book dull reading. The reason for this new departure is simple enough. Everybody who has studied

the great and growing literature of the history of religions must have noticed how easy it is to prove almost anything if one only cites, in illustration or in proof, a passage *short* enough. Not a few writers have discovered fine spiritual values in ancient religious material and have defended their existence by citing only a few lines of a hymn or a legend. If the whole context had been given the spiritual essence would have vanished out into a mere physical plaint. It will probably not be said that I have failed to give the whole color and movement and meaning by quoting too briefly. Whether I have correctly understood their bearing or not must be decided by others. As to the translations, I can only say that most of them have *grown*, and were not made especially for this volume. I have been working over the original Assyrian and Babylonian texts for years, filling notebooks with translations or essays in translation, changing, correcting, improving, testing every word by its appearance in newly published texts, and by every new discovery of other scholars. I have read portions of them aloud in hundreds of public lectures, or in classroom work. I hope that they represent pretty fairly what can be done with the passages to-day. That they could be improved in many places I do not doubt. It is always easier to correct another's work than one's own. But I have tried to consider every suggestion and every translation

which have been published by others. My obligations to them for a suggestive word here, or a line there, I have tried to acknowledge by numerous references, but I fear inadequately. It is sometimes impossible to remember where one first secured the best English word for an Assyrian equivalent. Sometimes the same word or phrase has been used by many translators. Texts often translated, such, for example, as the deluge story, tend naturally to a certain uniformity of expression. In general, however, I wish here to express particular gratitude for the help that King's translations of the creation tablets have been to me. Nobody will soon again be able to render those difficult texts without leaning much upon him. If the arguments I have advanced, or repeated, concerning Israel's relation to Babylonia seem inadequate; if the picture I have presented of the Babylonian religion be judged imperfect, perhaps nevertheless some passer-by may find these very carefully prepared translations useful in making up his own judgment or painting his own picture.

Professor Sayce kindly read the entire book in manuscript, and made a number of suggestions for its improvement. It would perhaps be a better book if I had adopted more of them, but I wished it to express my own thinking whatever the issue might be. It was, however, his kind and warm encouragement which helped much toward my resolve to publish it.

To all who would fain secure some help from another in this difficult field I offer this little book, knowing well its limitations, and desiring only to serve the cause of truth and righteousness. The happy people who have found no difficulties in the Old Testament while they surveyed it in the light which now shines upon it from Babylonia and Assyria need not trouble themselves to read it; it is not for them that it was written, nor was it delivered, in the first instance, to such as they.

ROBERT W. ROGERS.

Madison, New Jersey,
October 22, 1908.

LECTURE I

THE RECOVERY OF A LOST RELIGION

THERE are few subjects that engage the human mind more fraught with living, moving interest than the religions of mankind. To survey the faiths that are now potent among men, to see how much they have to say of the deep things that agitate the human breast, to gather up into systematic form their message of God, their struggle after righteousness, their yearning after a life beyond the grave—these are themes that yield nothing in interest or importance to anything that has ever engaged the thought of busy men. But even more thrilling is the interest awakened when we turn back into the history of these faiths. To trace the multiform sects of modern Moham-medanism from Syria and Egypt and Persia and India over mountain and sea and plain back to that tremendous impulse of Moham-med himself amid those waste uplands and dour tawny deserts of Arabia—who will deny that this is a task worthy our best effort, and filled with a reward all its own? Nay, to go far beyond even this mighty and lonesome man of the desert, to search out the motives

of early Arabic heathenism, to seek the strains of influence of Judaism and of Christianity upon the prophet's mind, here is a call for keen analysis, for great power of generalization and combination, and for a glow of emotion and of imagination.

Not to these high and difficult pursuits in the study of a living faith do I invite your attention, but to faiths dead, save in surviving ideas or motives in other religions; not to the present but to the past; not to questions open before our eyes, discussed in temples and shrines, but to matters long since stilled by Time's hand. But I make no apology for these ancient and silent, these remote and dead faiths. They also have their message, and it yields no palm of interest to the study even of Moham-medanism. The religion of Babylonia and Assyria is indeed a faith without living worshipers, gone amid the mists that cloud the most penetrating vision, but its sacred books, badly broken amid the crash of time, are once again in our hands. Its *truth* is not lost, but living still in other faiths. Its gods are mentioned in the greater sacred books of the Hebrews. Its plea for the surcease of remorse, for relief from the agony of sin, finds still an echo in our hearts. If indeed the history of man be a subject of undying interest, surely the history of the religious development of the millions of gifted and virile men who made Babylon and Nineveh

centers of world concourse and power may well stir our pulses and quicken our thought. But if this subject be full of interest, it must be admitted that it is likewise full of difficulty, and this characteristic must not be overlooked.

It is but a few short years since the mounds that covered the sites of ancient Nineveh and Babylon began to give up their secrets. It was long before men could decipher, and then laboriously and slowly read, the records which the explorer recovered. At first the decipherer chose out the easier texts, the better preserved, the more immediately interesting. In this process the religious texts, by far the more difficult to read and to interpret, had to wait until the last. And even now these texts are extremely difficult to master; they confront us daily with problems still insoluble and the workers are few. The day is still distant when it will be possible to present in detail an organized and scientific picture of the ancient religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians. The knowledge that we do possess is indeed fragmentary; in many points disputed, in much obscure. But no science makes progress by waiting for completion; men must ever present such knowledge as they possess at the moment, must paint such a picture as the imagination may be able to produce from the materials at hand, and from the conjectures which they

suggest. In this way alone shall we come to higher knowledge.

Besides all this, there is upon us another pressure, urging us onward to the study of this ancient faith. We are never able to forget that these Babylonians and Assyrians were closely akin to the Hebrews. Even the superficial reader finds numerous points of contact with them, and to him who searches deeply, the Old Testament is seen to have many a passage upon which the religion of the two great neighboring, though hostile, peoples may shed some valuable light.

And so, impelled by the thirst for new knowledge, however alien to our everyday thoughts, and urged onward by the hope of seeing the religion of the Old Testament in a new and clearer light, let us begin to study the religion of Babylonia and Assyria, especially in its relations to the religion of Israel.

But we cannot hope adequately to understand the religion unless we have before us a clear picture of the sources from which our knowledge is drawn, and as these sources are chiefly to be found in the inscriptions we cannot understand them unless we make plain to our minds the twin processes of discovery and decipherment which have made these inscriptions accessible to us.

The process of discovery and decipherment¹

¹ The most detailed account of *both* discovery and decipherment is

are often parallel and nearly always contemporaneous, but we shall do well to follow first, and very briefly, the processes of discovery.

I. It was in the Middle Ages that men began to travel over the great valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, seeking some signs of its former magnificence and power. Perhaps the earliest of the intelligent travelers was the rabbi Benjamin, son of Jonah, of the city of Tudela in the kingdom of Navarre. He set out from home about 1160 A.D., and journeyed overland across Spain and France and Italy. Thence he passed on to Greece and to Constantinople. After visiting the sacred places in Palestine he went over the desert, by way of Tadmor, to Mosul on the Tigris. What a wonderful journey that was, in that distant day! At Mosul he wrote in his journal these words: "This city, situated on the confines of Persia, is of great extent and

found in Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. i. New York, 1900. The most exhaustive account of the decipherment is given in Arthur John Booth, *The Discovery and Decipherment of the Trilingual Cuneiform Inscriptions*. London, 1902. A most valuable and painstaking work. There is a good general account of the excavations in Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands During the Nineteenth Century* pp. 1-577. Philadelphia, 1903. In this account pages 1-288 are devoted to the discoveries prior to 1889, and pages 289-577 to the work of the University of Pennsylvania. Some of the early explorers left unmentioned or but lightly touched upon by these writers are given in *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun*, published by the Trustees of the British Museum. London, 1907. The introduction by Dr. L. W. King and Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge is especially valuable for its account of Rawlinson's work, while the illustrations are invaluable. There is a very lucid account of the exploration and decipherment in Charles Fossey, *Manuel d'Assyriologie*, tome i, pp. 1-244. Paris, 1904.

very ancient; it stands on the banks of the Tigris, and is joined by a bridge to Nineveh. Although the latter lies in ruins, there are numerous inhabited villages and small towns on its site. Nineveh is on the Tigris distant one parasang from the town of Arbil."¹ These words introduced the long-lost city of Nineveh to the modern world, while the modern world was still latent in the Middle Ages. Benjamin had seen the mounds beyond the river and knew that beneath them lay all that remained of ancient Nineveh. Babylon he probably did not see, for the mention which he makes of it scarcely seems to be in the words of an eyewitness.

From the time of Benjamin onward the sites of Babylon and of Nineveh were visited again and again by passing travelers, but the day of scientific exploration was long deferred, and only came with the nineteenth century.

It fell to the lot of an Englishman to begin that great work of excavation which was to restore the ancient civilization of Babylonia and Assyria to modern thinking. Claudius James Rich was born in Dijon, France, in 1787, of English parents and spent his childhood in Bristol, England, and from that fine old city passed early in life into the service of the East India Company. After service in Bombay, Constantinople, Smyrna, and in Egypt, he finally

¹ See Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i, pp. 85ff.

became resident of the East India Company at Baghdad. There, though his attention was at first attracted by the romantic city in which he found himself, he soon began to turn his thoughts to the remains of Babylon lying on the Euphrates beyond the great swamps. On December 10, 1811, he saw for the first time the great mounds, and as to many another in similar circumstances his first impressions were disappointing. Here is what he had to say of them:

“From the accounts of modern travelers I had expected to have found on the site of Babylon more, and less, than I actually did. Less, because I could have formed no conception of the prodigious extent of the whole ruins, or of the size, solidity, and perfect state of some of the particular parts of them; and more, because I thought that I should have distinguished some traces, however imperfect, of many of the principal structures of Babylon. I imagined I should have said: Here were the walls, and such must have been the extent of the area. There stood the palace, and this most assuredly was the tower of Belus. I was completely deceived; instead of a few insulated mounds, I found the whole face of the country covered with the vestiges of building; in some places consisting of brick walls surprisingly fresh, in others merely of a vast succession of mounds of rubbish of such indeter-

minate figures, variety, and extent as to involve the person who should have formed any theory in inextricable confusion and contradiction."¹

Rich remained only about ten days amid the mounds, but they were fruitful indeed, for he planned and correctly located by astronomical observation all of them, and did the work so successfully that it has proved a good basis for all subsequent work. But he took another step more far-reaching in its consequences. He gathered a few natives and arming them with pickaxes and shovels dug into one of the big mounds to see what might lie beneath the surface. There his discoveries were indeed meager, but none other before him had thus essayed an entrance into the very heart of the ancient ruins, and his example was to prove enticing to others. From the ruins he carried back to Baghdad specimens of inscribed building bricks, and likewise some smaller tablets which he had purchased from the natives. These little tablets formed the nucleus of the vast Babylonian and Assyrian collections in the British Museum, which have become by far the richest in the world.

With this beginning at Babylon, Rich was

¹ *Fundgraben des Orients, bearbeitet durch eine Gesellschaft von Liebhabern*, p. 129. Wien, 1813. The narrative of Rich comprises pages 129-162 and also pages 197-200. The former are reprinted by his widow, *Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1821, now first published*, etc. London, 1839.

moved to see the remains of ancient Nineveh also, and on October 31, 1820, he entered Mosul and there spent four months. He visited and sketched and planned every one of the great mounds which he considered to form part of the ancient city of Nineveh. Here also, as at Babylon, he secured from the natives tablets written in the cuneiform character, which neither he nor indeed anyone else could read, but which were later to become intelligible to men. Rich had begun bravely the work of restoring both Babylon and Nineveh to the modern world, and in the very next year (October 5, 1821) he fell a victim to cholera at Shiraz while bravely seeking to serve and encourage others. The man who had done so much for the recovery of the records of the ancient world now died a hero in the humblest service for the poorest of humanity.

The next step in the process of recovering again the civilization of Nineveh was taken by the French, who in 1842 created at Mosul a vice-consulate. The man who was sent to fill the post was Paul Emil Botta, who though but thirty-seven years of age had had a wide experience of the world, and was familiar with the methods of archæological research which his gifted nation had pursued in Egypt. He occupied the new post on May 25, 1842—a fateful day in the history of Assyriology. He made no haste in the pursuit of his carefully

formed plan to excavate in the mounds of Nineveh, but rather looked over the whole field and considered how he might best begin and where.

When he stood on the western bank of the Tigris, at Mosul, he could see opposite the river Choser discharging its waters into the great river. The eye could follow the little river back over the plain which rose toward the mountains of Kurdistan upon the east and northeast. Upon this plain there were a few wretched villages, filled with squalid and fanatical inhabitants. Besides these villages the most noticeable objects were several vast mounds, which had been often described before, and Botta knew what they were supposed to be. On his right hand, as he looked across the Tigris, and south of the Choser, lay a mound which the natives called Nebi Yunus (that is, Prophet Jonah), to whose honor and memory the mosque on the top of the mound was dedicated. On the northern side of the Choser lay another and larger mound called Kuyunjik, where there were a few human habitations similar to those clustered round the mosque on Nebi Yunus. The mound of Kuyunjik was much the larger, and beyond the two mounds was a raised line which seemed to connect them, and might mark the remains of an inclosing wall. Other mounds were in sight or were known from the descriptions of travelers, and Botta pondered long on the best place to begin excavation.

He had heard that at Babylon the natives had dug up the ruins and had used the inscribed or stamped building bricks in the erection of their hovels. He hoped that a similar plan had been pursued at Mosul, and intended to ascertain from what mounds the natives had secured the stamped bricks which he hoped to find. A thorough search of the city revealed absolutely none, and the few inscribed tablets found in the hands of natives could not be traced to their place of origin, for they naturally desired to keep the secret for their own purposes. As all hoped-for indications had failed, Botta was cast upon his own unaided judgment, and at first was inclined to dig in the mound of Nebi Yunus. From this purpose he was finally dissuaded by the fact that a village occupied a considerable part of the mound, whose inhabitants would not naturally be willing to have their houses tumbled down by excavators. Besides this, there were Mohammedan graves in the mound, and above all was not the prophet Jonah himself believed to be interred there? To disturb a spot thus sacred might cause a dangerous outburst of fanaticism, and Botta turned, somewhat reluctantly, to the large mound of Kuyunjik. At the western edge and near the southern extremity of the mound he began to dig in December, 1842. His resources were meager, and the results most disappointing. While he worked in the trenches the inhabi-

tants gathered round and watched curiously the slow and careful work. They could not know what it all meant, but it was clear enough to their childish minds that this man was earnestly seeking for the little pieces of baked clay with the strange marks upon them. One of the bystanders, whose home was at Khorsabad, fourteen miles away on the river Choser, brought to Botta for sale two large bricks with inscriptions. This gave him the hint that perhaps Khorsabad might be a more fruitful field. At length, on March 20, 1843, his faith in Kuyunjik gave out and he sent some of his men to try the mound at Khorsabad. The resolve was fortunate, and in three days word was brought to him at Mosul that antiquities and inscriptions had already been found. He was skeptical, fearing lest the records might be some late Arabic graffiti, and was unwilling to go himself lest what had been found should prove valueless. He sent a servant with instructions to copy a few of the inscriptions and then report. Convinced by this report, he went to the scene and there beheld a sight which thrilled him.

His workmen had lighted upon the remains of an ancient wall, which they had followed down and around and had so laid bare a large room in which were lying fragments of marble sculptures, calcined by fire, and numbers of well-preserved inscriptions. He saw at once

that this was but a part of some great palace and proved his conjecture by driving wells about it, from which similar objects were retrieved. He could remain but one day, but in that day his eyes, though he did not then know it, had rested upon the remains of the palaces erected by one of the greatest kings who ever ruled in Assyria, Sargon II (722-705 B.C.), who had conquered the kingdom of Israel. From Mosul Botta wrote on April 5, 1843, a quiet, dignified, unenthusiastic letter to his friend Julius Mohl, of Paris, and shortly afterward a second letter which moved the French government to place three thousand francs at his disposal for further researches.

Though harassed by the natives, and annoyed by the efforts of the local Pasha to stop his work, Botta pushed doggedly onward to a magnificent success. The villagers were paid to remove from the top of the mound. The French government sent out M. E. Flandin, a competent architect, to plan the rooms and buildings as they were excavated, and while Botta copied the inscriptions he prepared the diagrams which would show the place of their origin. Three hundred native laborers worked lustily to lay bare the whole great complex of palace buildings. Scores of inscriptions, chiefly upon stone and monumental in character, were now found. Great winged bulls that once had guarded the palace doors were uncovered, and

beautiful bas-reliefs were stripped from the walls. The results surpassed all the dreams of Mohl in Paris and of Botta in Mosul, and astonished the savants of Paris. Here was a new world, a new world of antiquity revealed to modern eyes. In October, 1844, the work ceased, and after many delays the whole mass of material was successfully landed at Havre in December, 1846, thence to be transported to Paris and deposited in the Louvre. The work was crowned by the publication in five magnificent folio volumes of all of the drawings of Flandin, the copies of the inscriptions, and the descriptions of Botta. So ended in a worthy publicity the first excavations which succeeded in bringing to Europe a real collection of ancient Assyrian monuments.

Even before Botta's excavations had begun a young Englishman, Austen Henry Layard, traveling overland to seek a career in Ceylon, came to see the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus. He was deeply stirred, and wrote in his journal: "These huge mounds of Assyria made a deeper impression upon me, gave rise to more serious thought and more earnest reflection, than the temples of Baalbec or the theaters of Ionia." As he went by raft down the river to Baghdad he passed the great mound of Nimroud, which even more greatly impressed him, and induced him to write: "My curiosity had been greatly excited, and from that time I

formed the design of thoroughly examining, whenever it might be in my power, these singular ruins."¹

This resolution was taken in April, 1840, more than two years before Botta had seen the mounds. At least in the thought of excavation Layard had anticipated Botta, though the latter's good fortune finally gave him the precedence. Layard went on his journey toward Ceylon, but everywhere the sight of those mounds overshadowed him until, in Hamadan Persia, he could go no further and turned back to seek some opportunity to excavate. In May, 1842, he passed through Mosul on the way to Constantinople, and there found Botta already engaged in carrying on excavations at Kuyunjik. Layard then formed a friendship with Botta, and when the hour of discouragement arrived it was he who urged him to persevere.

Arrived at Constantinople, Layard interested Sir Stratford Canning, afterward Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who gave him £60, to which Layard was to add an equal sum collected among friends. With this small amount Layard left Constantinople, October, 1845, and traveled with all haste to Mosul. He avoided the Pasha of Mosul by a ruse, and floated down to the river on a raft to Nimroud, and slept a night

¹ *Nineveh and Its Remains*; with an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or Devil-worshippers; and an enquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians, by Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D.C.L., i, p. 8. 2 vols. London, 1849.

among the natives. As he afterward wrote: "Visions of palaces underground, of gigantic monsters, of sculptured figures, and endless inscriptions floated before me. After forming plan after plan for removing the earth and extricating these treasures, I fancied myself wandering in a maze of chambers from which I could find no outlet. Then, again, all was reburied and I was standing on the grass-covered mound. Exhausted, I was at length sinking into sleep when, hearing the voice of Awad [his Arab host], I rose from my carpet and joined him outside the hovel. The day had already dawned; he had returned with six Arabs, who agreed for a small sum to work under my direction."¹ There indeed is the true romance of exploration, and few sciences have seen more of it than this new science of Assyriology which is here, in this work of Botta and of Layard, being founded.

The excavations thus begun were continued until December, and then resumed again in February, 1846. In that month came a discovery less important for science itself than many others, but of great value in raising the interest in England in the work of excavation. Layard had left the mound to visit a neighboring sheikh and on his return was met by two Arabs hastening excitedly to meet him. "'Hasten, O Bey,' exclaimed one of them—

¹ *Nineveh and its Remains*, i, p. 25.

'hasten to the diggers, for they have found Nimrod himself. Wallah, it is wonderful, but it is true! we have seen him with our eyes. There is no God but God'; and both joining in this pious exclamation, they galloped off, without further words, in the direction of their tents." It was a great stone figure with the head of a man, the body of a lion, and the wings of an eagle, and twelve feet away was found its counterpart. Layard was himself entranced by the majestic figures, and amazed at the excellence of their execution. Hear his exclamations: "I used to contemplate for hours these mysterious emblems, and muse over their intent and history. What more noble forms could have ushered the people into the temple of their gods? What more sublime images could have been borrowed from nature by men who sought, unaided by the light of revealed religion, to embody their conception of the wisdom, power, and ubiquity of a Supreme Being? They could find no better type of intellect and knowledge than the head of a man; of strength, than the body of a lion; of rapidity of motion, than the wings of a bird. These winged human-headed lions were not idle creations, the offspring of mere fancy; their meaning was written upon them. They had awed and instructed races which flourished three thousand years ago."¹

No explorer before had ever written of dis-

¹ Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, i, 65ff.

coveries in words of such eloquence and power; none had ever displayed so much of enthusiasm, nor possessed so moving a power of description. The effect upon England was immediate and lasting. The British ambassador at Constantinople procured a vizirial letter authorizing the excavations, and permitting "the removal of such objects as should be discovered."

After a brief interval in the heated season work was resumed again in October, 1846, with the help of a grant in aid from the British government. Layard had now the very helpful assistance of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, who was himself born in the neighborhood and was able to conduct all the necessary dealings with the natives as no European could hope to be able to do.

The excavations carried on under these fortunate circumstances were successful beyond all Layard's fondest hopes. As the trenches followed round the rooms of the great palace of Shalmaneser I (1300 B.C.) they uncovered slabs of alabaster richly carved in relief with scenes of hunting, of war, and of solemn religious ceremony. "The very life of palace, camp, and field in Assyrian days came back again before the astonished eyes of the explorer, while these received an addition to their verisimilitude by the discovery in some of the ruins of pieces of iron which had

once formed parts of the same kind of armor as that portrayed on the reliefs, together with iron and bronze helmets, while in others were found vases and ornamentally carved pieces of ivory. Here were the pictures and there were the objects which they represented. As the trenches were dug deeper or longer, monuments carved or inscribed were found daily. One trench ten feet beneath the surface uncovered the edge of a piece of black marble. It was the corner of 'an obelisk about seven feet high, lying on its side.' It was covered on three sides with inscriptions and with twenty small bas-reliefs. The inscriptions recorded and the bas-reliefs illustrated various forms of gift and tribute which had been received by Shalmaneser II (860-825 B.C.), though when they were found this was, of course, not known. No inscription equal in beauty and in the promise of valuable historical material had yet been found in Assyria. . . . Day after day the work went on with the regular and constant discovery of stone slabs similar to those which had been found before, and with the finding of inscribed bricks, which, though not so beautiful as the stone, contained much more historical material."¹

Then Layard went away to dig at Kalah Shergat, the mound which covered the first capital of Assyria, where among other things a

¹ Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i, pp. 155, 156.

splendid inscription of Tiglathpileser I (1120 B.C.) rewarded his efforts. In June, 1847, the work ceased and it was not resumed again until the autumn of 1849, when the chief emphasis was laid upon the mounds of Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus. In the former he discovered the palace of Sennacherib, and his wonderful acumen enabled him to recognize the fact that this edifice belonged to a king whose son was the builder of the palace at Nimroud and whose father built the palace discovered by Botta at Khorsabad. When we remember that he could not read Assyrian texts, nor could anyone else at that time, his keenness and power of combination are alike remarkable. In this expedition he recovered portions of the library of the last great king of Assyria, Ashurbanipal (668-625 B.C.), and conducted fruitful excavations at Kalah Shergat, Nimroud, and Khorsabad. He returned to England in April, 1852, and devoted his energies to the publication of the narrative and the inscription materials which he had recovered.¹ It was indeed a wonderful record of successful labor, and the new science of Assyriology was abundantly provided with

¹ *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert: being the result of a second expedition undertaken for the Trustees of the British Museum, by Austen H. Layard, M.P.* London, 1853. *A Second Series of the Monuments of Nineveh*, including bas-reliefs from the palace of Sennacherib and bronzes from the ruins of Nimroud, from drawings made on the spot during the second expedition to Assyria, by Austen Henry Layard, M.P. Seventy-one plates. London, 1853.

material with which to build a new house of learning.

Layard was followed by William Kennett Loftus, who made small but useful excavations¹ at Warka, the ancient city of Erech, home of one of the oldest, if not indeed the oldest, cult of Babylonia. At about the same time J. E. Taylor, British vice-consul at Bassorah, excavated in the mound of Mugheir, beneath which lay the ancient city of Ur, home of the worship of the moon god.

While Loftus was still at his work the French government sent out a great expedition to Hillah, amid the remains of ancient Babylon. Its most famous member was Jules Oppert, whose name will live while the science of Assyriology finds votaries, for he became one of its founders. The expedition met with the serious mishap of losing nearly all its inscription material by the overturning of a raft in the Tigris, but Oppert brought to Europe so many notes and copies that the published results were notable.

In the same year that the French expedition was being planned the British Museum secured a grant from Parliament and Hormuzd Rassam² was sent out to begin excavations again where Layard had left off. Rassam's work began in

¹ *Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susiana*, by William Kennett Loftus, F.G.S. London, 1857.

² For some further description of Rassam's work see p. 101.

1852 and was brilliantly successful. He recovered the major part of the library of Ashurbanipal, from which later students have extracted nearly all the material for the reconstruction of the religions both of Babylonia and Assyria. In this great mass of inscriptions when sent to the British Museum were found the deluge tablets, whose decipherment and publication by George Smith filled all England with a new passion for further discovery.

In 1873 George Smith was sent by private British enterprise back to Kuyunjik, where he found more fragments of the Assyrian deluge story, together with many important historical texts. In 1875 he made a less successful expedition, and laid down his valuable life at Aleppo on his way homeward.

In November, 1877, Rassam was back again in Mosul, and thence went out to the mound of Balawat, where he had the great good fortune to discover the beautifully inscribed and adorned bronze plates which once had covered the palace gates of Shalmaneser II. In that same year M. Ernest de Sarzec, French consul at Bassorah, began excavations at Telloh, which extended, with some interruptions, until 1894. He uncovered a fine temple of Gudea (3000 B.C.) and found in one archive chamber no less than thirty thousand tablets, mostly, indeed, of a business character, relating to trade, commerce, agriculture, and industry, but with

many temple documents of the highest importance for our study of that ancient faith.

At last in 1888 America began to join the nations of Europe in excavation, and a well-equipped expedition was sent out from Philadelphia under the leadership of Dr. John P. Peters, to whose tremendous industry in stirring up interest in Philadelphia the expedition owed its origin. For two seasons he directed its labors, and was then succeeded by the indefatigable J. H. Haynes, who was in turn superseded by Professor H. V. Hilprecht as scientific director. The successive campaigns of excavation were carried on upon the great mound of Niffer, the ancient Nippur, from which thousands of tablets were taken whose publication by Hilprecht and by his very able and skillful assistant, Dr. Albert T. Clay, has greatly enriched our knowledge of early Babylonia.

In 1899 Germany, which had made distinguished contributions to science in the publication and explication of the Assyrian treasures of the British Museum, sent its first expedition to Babylon with Dr. Koldewey as director. At a later date excavations were also begun on the mound of ancient Asshur, and in both places, but perhaps more especially at the latter site, inscriptions of great value have been recovered. To these two sites Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, of Berlin, most distinguished of modern Assyriologists, has made several journeys to inspect

and interpret monuments and structures as they were found.

And now in this rapid survey, in which many valuable excavations by E. A. Wallis Budge, L. W. King, and others had to be passed without even a mention, we have come to our own time. The work of excavation in Asshur, in Babylon, and in other places in Assyria and Babylonia still continues, and a steady stream of tablets pours into the great museums demanding interpretation and appraisal. No one of the historical or philological sciences ever made more rapid strides in the accumulation of material. Even the neighboring lands add their contributions. In 1888 Egypt delivered up out of the little village of Tell-el-Amarna more than three hundred tablets written in ancient Babylonian and forming a part of the correspondence between Egyptian kings and Asiatic kings and princes in the fifteenth pre-Christian century; while but a few years later the mounds of Susa under the close examination of M. Jacques de Morgan, of Paris, yielded the priceless legal code of Hammurabi, greatest of the early kings of Babylonia.

The story of exploration and excavation has been told, and we must now turn to see how men had learned to read the strange languages in which this treasure trove of inscriptions was written. The story goes back to very humble and simple beginnings, and many men of divers

races worked upon the difficult problem, each contributing his share, often without knowing how it might fit into that which was going on elsewhere.

II. In the years 1614–1626 Pietro della Valle traversed a large part of Turkey, Persia, and India. In passing through Persia he visited the ruins of Persepolis and there copied at random into one of his letters a few signs which neither he nor any other could then read.



Other travelers followed him and saw the same inscription, but none made any contribution toward its elucidation until 1674, when Sir John Chardin copied very carefully one small inscription which, when it was published, enabled European scholars to see that the characters of this strange writing were made up of little arrowheads or wedges deftly combined, and many reached the conclusion that the language was to be read from left to right, but none dared to essay the tremendous task of its decipherment.

In the month of March, 1765, the ruins of Persepolis were visited by Carsten Niebuhr, father of the man who afterward became the historian of Rome. Three weeks and a half he remained among them and laboriously copied

a number of the inscriptions, and copied them with remarkable accuracy. When he found leisure after his return home to examine and compare what he had laboriously copied beneath the cruel sun of Persia, he soon convinced himself that there was not one but three separate languages represented. In one of them the little wedges were less complex than in the second, while in the third they had very greatly increased in complexity of form. He divided the little inscriptions into three classes, and by a process of comparison among those which belonged to class I, soon arrived at the perfectly sound conclusion that in all these texts of that class there were employed but forty-two signs. These he copied out and set in order in one of his plates, and what he had thus achieved no later study would be able to overthrow.

When his copies were published two scholars set seriously to work to decipher. The first was Olav Gerhard Tychsen, professor of Oriental languages in the University of Rostock, Germany; the other was Friedrich Münter, the Danish academician of Copenhagen. Tychsen made almost at once the important discovery that there occurred at irregular intervals in all the texts of class I a wedge that did not point to the right or downward, but inclined diagonally—a slanting wedge—which he suggested was used to divide between words. This was to prove most useful in the hands of Münter,

𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑𐾒𐾓𐾔𐾕𐾖𐾗𐾘𐾙𐾚𐾛𐾜𐾝𐾞𐾟𐾠𐾡𐾢𐾣𐾤𐾥𐾦𐾧𐾨𐾩𐾪𐾫𐾬𐾭𐾮𐾯

but Tychsen himself made only abortive attempts to decipher one of the texts. Münter identified the builders of Persepolis with the Achæmenides, and so provided a most valuable clue to the decipherment and even got so far as to identify the characters for "a" and "b"—the first firm step forward in the decipherment, but the consummation must await the coming of a genius.

In 1802 Fiorillo, librarian of the University of Göttingen, drew the attention of Georg Friedrich Grotefend, then a gymnasial teacher in Frankfort-on-the-Main, to the lithographic facsimiles which Niebuhr had published. Grotefend's interest was excited, and at once he began the slow process of comparison and combination. His processes were perfectly simple and may be made clear to any intelligent mind, even though it possess no Oriental knowledge.

He began with the assumption that there were three languages, and that of these the simplest was ancient Persian, the language of the Achæmenides, who had erected these palaces and temples and caused the inscriptions to be cut. For the purposes of decipherment he chose out two of these old Persian inscriptions and laid them side by side. The ones which were chosen were neither very long nor very short; they were beautifully copied by Niebuhr, and the frequent recurrence of the same

signs in them seemed to indicate that their contents were similar. The inscriptions thus selected were those numbered "B" and "G" by Niebuhr (see plate), which, for the purpose of this exposition, may be designated simply as first and second (I and II). Following Tychsen and Münter, he held that these inscriptions, which accompanied figures of kings, were the titles of these monarchs, and were presumably similar to the inscriptions of Sassanian kings deciphered by De Sacy, all of which had a stereotyped form about in this style:

"N., the great king, the king of kings, the king of Iran and Aniran, son of N., the great king," etc.

Grotefend placed the two little Persian texts side by side and closely compared them. In the work of Münter a word had been pointed out which appeared frequently in these inscriptions, sometimes in a short form and sometimes longer, as though in the latter case some grammatical termination had been added to it. In these two inscriptions this word appeared both in the shorter and in the longer form. Grotefend was persuaded that this word meant "king," as Münter had indeed suggested, and that when it appeared twice in each of these texts in exactly the same place, first in the shorter and then in the longer form, the expression meant "king of kings." A glance at the plate will show that in these two inscriptions, in the second line,

To this Grotefend bent every energy. His method was as simple as before. He made out to his own satisfaction the titles "great king, king of kings." Now, in the Sassanian inscriptions the first word was always the king's name, followed immediately by "great king, king of kings"; it was probably true in this case. But, if true, then these two inscriptions were set up by different kings, for the name of the first was,

(d) Cuneiform inscription (d) consisting of six groups of characters: a vertical bar with a hook, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, and a vertical bar with a hook and a dot.

while the other was,

(e) Cuneiform inscription (e) consisting of six groups of characters: a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, and a vertical bar with a hook and a dot.

But to simplify, or perhaps I should say to complicate, the matter, the name with which No. I begins appears again in No. II in the third line, but changed somewhat in its ending, so that it stands thus:

(f) Cuneiform inscription (f) consisting of six groups of characters: a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, a vertical bar with a hook and a dot, and a vertical bar with a hook and a dot.


From its situation in the two places Grotefend concluded that (d) was the name in the nominative and that (f) was the same name in the genitive. Thus No. I begins, "*N great king, king of kings,*" and this same king appears in No. II thus: "*of N.*" In II this name is followed by the word for "king," and after this by another word which might mean "son,"

so that the whole phrase in II would be "*of N king son,*" that is, "*son of N king,*" the order of words being presumably different from that to which we are accustomed. But this same word, which is supposed to mean "son," appears also in No. I, line five, thus:

(g) $\overline{\text{𐎠}}$ $\overleftarrow{\text{𐎠}}$ $\overline{\text{𐎠}}$.

where it follows a name which does not possess the title king. From all these facts Grotefend surmised that in these two inscriptions he had the names of three rulers: (1) the grandfather, who had founded a dynasty but did not possess the title of king; (2) the son, who succeeded him and bore the title of king; and (3) the grandson, who also had the same title. The next thing was to search through all the known names of the Achæmenides to find three names which would suit. The first names thought of were Cambyses, Cyrus, and Cambyses. These will, however, not serve, because the name of the grandfather and grandson are exactly alike, whereas on the two inscriptions even a glance will show that they are different. The next three to be considered are Hystaspes, Darius, Xerxes. If these be correct, then the seven signs with which No. I begins must be the name Darius (see "d" above). The next thing in order was to find and apply some test to this conjecture. After much thought and comparison

with Hebrew, and with Greek transliterations of the name, Grotefend finally gave the word the form "Darheush," as follows:

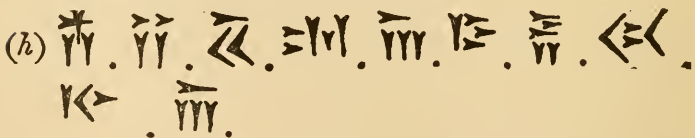
(d) 
 D A R H E U SH

That seemed to fit well enough, and later study has shown that it contains errors only in H and E, which were not sufficient to vitiate the process, nor interfere with carrying it further. The next task was to make out the name at the beginning of No. II. This was comparatively easy, for nearly all these same letters were again used, only the first, which was wanting, being readily supplied from the Hebrew and Avestan forms of the name, and the word was then read thus:

(e) 
 CH SH H A R SH A

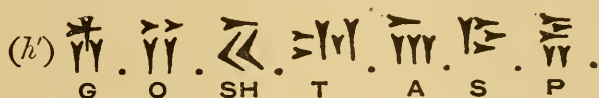
The error in this also was extremely slight.

He had now to find the letters for the third name, and that was a much more difficult problem. This was the name which appears in I, line four, last word, thus:

(h) 

Here were ten signs. Grotefend believed that this word was in the genitive case, and some

signs must be cut off as the genitive ending, but it was difficult to decide how many were thus to be rejected. He finally decided to cut off the final three letters and so to take what remained as the king's name. As we have already seen, the name which he was seeking was Hystaspes, the late Persian form of which Grotefend followed and so made out the name:

(h')  .
 G O SH T A S P

In this word the error was confined to the first two letters.

To Grotefend the whole process seemed to confirm itself as it developed step by step. He was convinced that he had correctly secured thirteen letters of the Persian alphabet out of a possible forty-two. He soon added others by the use of the divine name Aurmazda as he believed that it occurred in these texts.

He now felt able to translate these two little inscriptions in a partial and tentative way as follows:

- I. Darius, the mighty king, king of kings, . . . son of Hystaspes.
- II. Xerxes, the mighty king, king of kings, . . . son of Darius, the king.

The Göttingen Academy refused to publish his work, and when finally it was brought out by a friend its reception was chilling. But how-

ever the men of his own day might dispute his results and criticise his processes, the future belonged to the humble classical scholar of Hannover, and men would soon come to see that he had provided a key which in due time would unlock to the world the vast treasures of Babylonian and Assyrian literature. The later work of Grotfend was very largely abortive, and the continuation of his successful work passed into other hands.

The men who continued the tradition were Eugène Burnouf, a distinguished French savant, and Christian Lassen, a Norwegian who spent most of his life at Bonn, Germany, where he became one of the founders of Sanskrit philology. These two men, who were close personal friends, published contemporaneously essays upon this great problem of decipherment, which quite naturally has led to a foolish dispute as to their priority. The former added much to Grotfend's work in deciphering the geographical names Persia, Media, Babylon, Arabia, Cappadocia, Sarangia, Bactria, and Sogdiana, while Lassen correctly deciphered six additional characters and was almost successful in securing the values of two more.

While all this work was going on an Englishman, Major (afterward Sir) Henry C. Rawlinson, was engaged upon the same task. In 1835 he copied with great care, and at the peril of his life, about two hundred lines from the great

inscription of Darius at Behistun in Persia. Like Grotefend, he also began with the names Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes. These he says he applied "at hazard to the three groups." This he had undoubtedly arrived at quite independently of Grotefend, but his later progress was helped by the material secured by Grotefend and forwarded to Rawlinson by Edwin Norris, the secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. With this assistance, but most of all aided by his own acumen, he succeeded during the year 1837 in arriving at a tentative translation of the first two paragraphs of the Behistun inscription; this he forwarded to the Royal Asiatic Society, where it was received on March 14, 1838. In 1839 he wrote his preliminary memoir and expected to publish it in the spring of 1840. At this juncture, when he was upon the very point of far surpassing all his predecessors in the power actually to translate, he had to spend troublous years in the Afghan war, and not until December, 1843, could he resume his far more important studies in Baghdad. At last, after many delays and discouragements, he published, in 1846, his memoir, or series of memoirs, on the ancient Persian inscriptions, in which he gave, for the first time, a nearly complete translation of the whole Persian text of Behistun. In this Rawlinson attained imperishable fame. With his work the long process of the decipherment of ancient

Persian came to an end. Later scholars needed only to build upon his foundations.¹

Very little had thus far been done upon the other two languages which appeared both at Persepolis and at Behistun by the side of the ancient Persian text. The man who had the privilege of beginning the decipherment of the second language of these groups of inscriptions was Niels Louis Westergaard, who proceeded by the same method as that which gave success with the first group to Grotefend. The language he called Median. After Westergaard, Edward Hincks and the eminent French scholar, De Saulcy, made contributions to the rapid progress of this much easier problem. Professor A. H. Sayce, of Oxford, and Jules Oppert, of Paris, each contributed to the process, which may be considered to be closed with the publication of an elaborate edition of these texts by Dr. F. H. Weissbach in 1890. The language was, at that time and by the general agreement of scholars, called Susian. For our purposes it is of minor importance, and I have therefore passed very lightly over the story of its decipherment.

A far more important as well as a supremely difficult task awaited the decipherer's skill in the third set of inscriptions found both at

¹ For a full account of Rawlinson's work see Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i, pp. 63ff., and compare *The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia*. [By E. A. W. Budge, L. W. King, and R. C. Thompson.] Published by the Trustees of the British Museum. London, 1907.

Persepolis and at Behistun. As I said in the very beginning of this narrative, the signs with which the three sorts of inscriptions were written increased in complexity from the first to the third. The decipherment had proven that the ancient Persian was written with an alphabetic character, while Susian was syllabic and ideographic in its script. The third language, the Assyro-Babylonian, was now in turn to be attacked. The problem was indeed exceedingly difficult, but the workers had increased and the hopes were bright.

The most gifted of all the new workers was the rector of the little parish of Killyleagh in Ireland, the Rev. Edward Hincks, who had already made important contributions to the decipherment both of Persian and of Susian. Both these services he was now to surpass, and apparently with ease.

In the latter part of 1846 and early in 1847 Hincks read three papers before the Royal Irish Academy and plunged boldly into the reading of Babylonian. He saw that it was related to the Semitic languages, Hebrew and Arabic, and perceived that it was the same language as that in which were written the small tablets which were now coming in numbers out of Assyria and Babylonia. If, therefore, he could decipher the third language of Persepolis and Behistun he would make it possible to read the entire literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

Hincks determined the meanings of a number of syllabic signs, and identified a large part of the numerals. He was on the high road to a reading of the texts, but he was too careful to venture to translate. His method, despite his natural enthusiasm, was rigidly scientific.

Botta was now back again in Paris, and was publishing in parts a memoir upon the language of the inscriptions which he had recovered. He made but little effort to decipher or translate, but collated all the inscriptions which he had found and made systematic lists of the signs which he found upon them. In this manner he differentiated no less than 642 separate signs, and so at one stroke showed how impossible were the old alphabetic theories of this manner of writing.

In 1849 Hincks read a remarkable paper on the Khorsabad inscriptions. He had hitherto worked only with the little Persepolitan texts; he had now greatly broadened his field by taking in the material which Botta had secured. Hincks was now able to demonstrate the syllabic character of many of the signs. There was, for example, a sign for RA, and another for RI, and yet another for RU; then there was a sign for AR and presumably also for IR and UR, though he could not perfectly define the last two. At the end of this paper, which was not finished until 1850, Hincks added a few lines of translation from Assyrian. "This

was indeed a translation in a sense attained by no other interpreter. It gave first the Assyrian characters, then an attempted transcription into Roman characters, and finally the almost complete and very nearly correct translation. It is impossible to read this paper at this late date without astonishment at its grasp of fundamental principles, its keen insight into linguistic form and life, and its amazing display of powers of combination."¹

In 1851 Rawlinson issued his long and eagerly expected memoir, in which he published one hundred and twelve lines of inscription in cuneiform type accompanied by an interlinear transcription into Roman characters and a translation into Latin. To this was added a body of notes, with brief lists of signs and acute observations on many peculiarities of the language.

The whole process of decipherment up to this time had been so much like a dream that many persons doubted whether it had any really substantial basis. As an enlightened public opinion is a valuable asset in all scientific progress, Mr. Fox Talbot, of London, determined to set these doubts at rest by a test, dramatic in its character, which should show how complete was the agreement existing between the different scholars who were at work upon the problem. He translated a part of a new published text of Tiglathpileser, and sent it under seal to the

¹ Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i, pp. 187, 188.

Royal Asiatic Society, to which he desired that Rawlinson, Hincks, and Oppert should also submit independent translations. When the three sealed translations were opened before the selected committee their substantial agreement left no doubt that the decipherers had really attained certainty as to the main body of their results.

With this we may regard the process of decipherment of the three groups of inscriptions as concluded. It was now possible to read Persian, Susian, and Babylonian. It was time to begin the process of analysis of the texts. The grammar must be built up stage by stage. The texts must be ransacked for historical material. The whole life of the great peoples who had caused these records to be made must be studied. That task was to prove much larger than the pioneers in decipherment could have dreamed. From all the camps of excavators new materials were pouring into museums, both old and new. New students were springing up in unexpected places, yet the work grew apace and far outstripped their utmost efforts. Assyriology demonstrated its right to be accepted as a university discipline, and a new science took its place by the side of its more ancient compeers.

When once the process of decipherment had reached assured results and the grammatical control of the new texts was sufficiently as-

sured to make translation reasonably certain, the process of using the new material for historical purposes began. It was quite natural that history should come first. The names of Assyrian and Babylonian kings had long been popularly known in the Old Testament, and the discovery of contemporaneous documents containing accounts of their campaigns as told by their own historiographers appealed to the imagination, and stimulated interest in the new science. Very early in the history of the science English and French literary journals began to print frequent notices of the discovery of the names of Shalmaneser and Nebuchadrezzar and others upon newly deciphered tablets. Very early also came the announcement of the finding of the names of biblical kings; indeed, it was this sort of a discovery which was George Smith's first introduction to Assyrian research.¹ This linking up of the documents of the Hebrews and of the Babylonians continues with unabated interest and vigor to the present, and has been of enormous value in the quickening

¹ Smith's report of his first discovery is so interesting in the history of Assyrian discovery that it is here reproduced entire:

"*Assyrian Inscription.* While examining part of the Assyrian collection in the British Museum I lately discovered a short inscription of Shalmaneser II, king of Assyria, in which it is stated that Jehu, king of Israel, sent him tribute in the eighteenth year of his reign. That he received tribute from Jehu is well known from the black obelisk inscription, but the date of the event has not been previously ascertained. This fact is of chronological interest. I may add that Jehu in this inscription is styled 'Son of Omri,' the same as on the black obelisk. GEORGE SMITH."—*Athenaeum*, No. 2031, September 29, 1866, p. 410.

of general interest in the study. Without this stimulus the means would hardly have been forthcoming for some of the most successful expeditions.

But if the historical material received attention first, very early indeed did men begin to see that these new discoveries were introducing us to the religion of the Assyrians and Babylonians. In the beginning the great slabs, sculptured in relief, were found to contain figures of the gods, and demons, which were reproduced without, of course, any attempt at classifying or arranging them. They were often labeled merely "Winged Divinity" or with some other noncommittal legend, but even so early as 1857 considerable numbers of these were presented to the popular eye in illustrations.¹ Here was the raw material which must soon be interpreted and organized.

The earliest students of the religious material, in a more systematic way, were Francois Lenormant in France and Archibald H. Sayce in England. Lenormant was born in Paris, January 17, 1837, and devoted his early years to Greek archæology, but later passing over to Assyriology gave all the powers of a remarkable mind, with extraordinary intuitive power, to the new science. In the power to seize the essential thing in a difficult, almost illegible text, and discarding the merely adventitious

¹ See Bonomi, *Nineveh and its Palaces*, 3d edition. London, 1857.

arrive at a picture of some religious or magical or liturgical idea, no later investigator has surpassed him.¹ His death at the early age of forty-six was a sad loss.

The first attempt to present a connected account of all the known facts of the Babylonian and Assyrian religion was made by Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures, published in 1887. How difficult, nay, impossible, the task was he has himself stated in a later course of lectures devoted to the same subject, in words which I may well reproduce here: "It is now fourteen years ago since I delivered a course of lectures for the Hibbert Trustees on the religion of the ancient Babylonians. The subject at that time was almost untouched; even such materials as were then accessible had been hardly noticed, and no attempt had been made to analyze or reduce them to order, much less to draw up a systematic account of ancient Babylonian religion. It was necessary to lay the very foundations of the study before it could be undertaken, to fix the characteristic features of the Babylonian faith

¹ The following works of Lenormant may here be mentioned as especially significant in the early study of the religious texts:

1. *Lettres Assyriologiques et Epigraphiques sur l'histoire et les antiquités de l'Asie antérieure*. 2 vols. Paris, 1871-1873.
2. *Essai de commentaire des fragments cosmogoniques de Berosé*. Paris, 1871.
3. *Le déluge et l'épopée babylonienne*. Paris, 1873.
4. *Les sciences occultes en Asie*. 2 vols. Paris, 1874, 1875. I. La Magie chez les Chaldéens et les origines Accadiennes. II. La divination et la science des Présages chez les Chaldéens.

and the lines along which it had developed, and, above all, to distinguish the different elements of which it was composed. The published texts did not suffice for such a work; they needed to be supplemented from that great mass of unpublished cuneiform documents with which the rooms of our museums are filled. My lectures were necessarily provisional and preliminary only, and I had to content myself with erecting a scaffold on which others might build. The time had not yet come for writing a systematic description of Babylonian religion, and of the phases through which it passed during the long centuries of its existence."¹ This states very well the great difficulty of the task. The results achieved were remarkable. Every worker from that day onward had before him a scheme from which as a point of departure fresh progress was to be made. The influence of the book lives on, though time and fresh research have corrected some of its conclusions and modified others. It was foundation-laying work, and for years no attempt was made to supersede it.

The next great forward movement in the study of the Babylonian religion lay in the investigation of special subjects and in the publication of religious texts. In this Rawlinson

¹ A. H. Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, The Gifford Lectures on the Ancient Egyptian and Babylonian Conception of the Divine, p. 252. Edinburgh, 1902.

had already made a most important beginning,¹ to be followed very soon by a series of publications by Professor Heinrich Zimmern, of the University of Leipzig, the first devoted to the Penitential Psalms,² and the others to incantations and their liturgical use.³ These laid the foundations in their field, displaying not merely a wide grasp of the material, but a philological acumen of the first order. During this same period Professor Paul Haupt, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, published the great national Babylonian epic in masterly fashion,⁴ while J. A. Knudtzon,⁵ James A. Craig,⁶ and George Reisner⁷ in rapid succession provided an abundance of material for the student of the religious books. The systematic and scientific study of the cosmologies begins with Professor Peter Jensen, of the University of Marburg,⁸ whose work was rapidly followed by new contributions of the highest importance

¹ *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Western Asia*, ed. by H. C. Rawlinson. London, 1875. Second edition, ed. by T. G. Pinches, 1891.

² Heinrich Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*. Leipzig, 1885.

³ Heinrich Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion*. (a) *Beschwörungsstafeln Shurpu*, (b) *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer, und Sänger*. Leipzig, 1901.

⁴ Paul Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrodepos*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1891.

⁵ J. A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1893.

⁶ James A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1895, 1897.

⁷ George Reisner, *Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen*. Berlin, 1896.

⁸ Peter Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*. Strassburg, 1890.

from Professor Friedrich Delitzsch,¹ of the University of Berlin, until Leonard W. King² placed the capstone upon this part of the structure in the publication, with large additions of new material, of all the creation myths of Babylonia. The same scholar had previously discussed the magical texts³, and Dr. R. C. Thompson,⁴ C. Fossey,⁵ A. Boissier,⁶ and Charles Virolleaud⁷ had made important contributions to the same field. Many of these works would have been impossible but for the self-sacrificing labor of Dr. Carl Bezold, afterward professor in the University of Heidelberg, who began in 1889, and completed ten years later, the publication in five volumes of a catalogue of all the cuneiform tablets in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum.

The publication of texts and the systematic ordering of the material which they had supplied gave the call for a presentation of the religion as a whole, for they naturally superseded, in large measure, the brilliant work

¹ Friedrich Delitzsch, *Das Babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos*. Leipzig, 1896.

² L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation; or, the Babylonian and Assyrian Legends concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind*. 2 vols. London, 1902.

³ L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*. London, 1896.

⁴ R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*. 2 vols. London, 1900.

⁵ C. Fossey, *La Magie Assyrienne*. Paris, 1902.

⁶ A. Boissier, *Document Assyriens relatifs aux présages*. Paris, 1894ff.

⁷ Ch. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*. Paris, 1903ff.

which Sayce had done in the Hibbert Lectures. A pioneer in this work was the distinguished C. P. Tiele,¹ of Leyden, whose very brief sketch showed the breadth of his knowledge of the history of religions; while Friedrich Jeremias² gave a clear presentation of the knowledge then attained, and his brother Alfred Jeremias³ made elaborate studies of the various gods of the Babylonian and Assyrian pantheon, which are models of their kind.

In 1898 appeared the first complete treatise upon the religion of Babylonia and Assyria by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr.,⁴ of the University of Pennsylvania, followed in the very next year by a brief but able book by the indefatigable Dr. King,⁵ of the British Museum. In 1901 Professor Sayce⁶ again gave a series of lectures, from which I have already made a significant quotation. Very shortly after the publication of this first book in English Professor Jastrow began its translation into German, issuing the book in parts beginning with the year 1902 and

¹ C. P. Tiele, *Geschichte der Religion im Alterthum*, part i, pp. 127–216, *Die Religion in Bab. und Assyrien*. Gotha, 1895.

² Friedrich Jeremias, *Die Babylonier und Assyrer*, in *Chantepie de la Saussaye, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, i, pp. 163–221.

³ In Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*.

⁴ Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. Boston, 1898.

⁵ L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*. London, 1899.

⁶ A. H. Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*. Edinburgh, 1902.

now (1908) almost completed.¹ It has far exceeded the limits of a mere translation, being filled with fresh texts and carrying the investigation of the entire subject to points impossible in 1898. It is a work of almost monumental character and represents the present state of knowledge.

We have surveyed the history of Assyrian research from its beginning to the present day, and may now turn to ask what we have learned of this ancient faith once more restored to knowledge, and to ask also what are its relations to the faith of Israel and its sacred books.

¹ Morris Jastrow, Jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Band i. Giessen, 1904.

LECTURE II

THE GODS OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

FAR away in the mists which cover the earliest of human habitations we can discern in southern Babylonia signs of life, society, and government in certain cities. More than four thousand years before Christ civilization had already reached a high point, the arts of life had made much progress, and men were able to write down their thoughts and words in intelligible language. Here we stand at the beginning of history; man can *write*. He has acquired that high feeling of self-consciousness which impels him to write down his name and to boast of his deeds. Beyond that day, farther and farther back into the centuries, stretch those long prehistoric ages, of which we can form only a conjectural picture. The mists are penetrated here and there by little rays of light from the earliest written records of the historic period; and sometimes an inference from some broken statue, from some geographical fact, from some little anthropological datum may enable our vision to discern moving races, conquering kings, and murmuring priests.

In the earliest historic period we find two quite distinct peoples dwelling and working in Babylonia. One of these we call the Sumerians,¹ the other the Semitic Babylonians. The former are of unknown origin, having been connected with various peoples, from those dwelling along the Zagros to the Mongols in the far east. The Semites, who appear first in the northern part of the country, originated in all probability in Arabia; the Sumerians, who in the earliest times controlled the south, may have entered the land by way of the Persian Gulf. The differences between the two races are clearly shown in their sculpture. The

¹ There has been, since 1874, an earnest controversy as to the existence of the Sumerians. It was begun by the distinguished Parisian Orientalist Joseph Halévy, who tried to show that the Sumerian language was merely an ideographic system of writing invented by the Assyrian priests. At first his views met with the support of some eminent names, but he now numbers but few supporters. Professor Jastrow (*Die Religion Babylonens und Assyriens*, i, pp. 18ff.) has supported Halévy's contention, in the main, and argued earnestly that the matter must not be considered a *chose jugée*, but in the recently published parts of the new German edition of his book he *seems* more and more to depart from Halévy's position, though I have no evidence that he has positively accepted the opposing view. I have already discussed the matter (*History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i, pp. 200-215), and need only say here that the succeeding years have confirmed the judgment there expressed, and repeated above. The history of the whole controversy is given by F. H. Weissbach, *Die Sumerische Frage*, Leipzig, 1898. Since then Pinches and Sayce have published (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, xxiv, 1902, pp. 108ff.) Greek transcriptions of Sumerian words exactly the same as those which are in use to-day. I do not see how this evidence can be successfully disposed of. The important discussion of the question by Eduard Meyer (*Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, Abhandlungen der königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1906, Philosoph.-hist. Classe; also published separately, Berlin, 1906) ought here to be especially commended.

Semites wore long beards, carefully, even fantastically, braided or arranged, and also long hair. They were clad in colored garments, and wore sandals. The Sumerians, on the other hand, had no beard, and even shaved the head. They wore a long mantle, and covered neither the feet with shoes nor the head with a hat.¹ It was the Sumerians who invented and applied the elements of the cuneiform writing, which the Semites adopted from them and modified as time progressed. It served fairly well to express the agglutinative speech of its inventors, but failed most awkwardly to express the sounds of Semitic speech.

Most of the earliest inscriptions which have come down to us, while written for the greater part in Sumerian, contain in some degree a mixture of Semitic words. The Sumerians were gradually, though very slowly, forced backward by conquest into subjection, and then disappeared by amalgamation. Recent investigation would seem to indicate that they existed to a much later day than was formerly thought possible.

These two peoples in the earlier days interacted upon each other. The elements of Semitic religion were intermingled with those of the Sumerians; the myths of the Semites were adopted by their predecessors, who made their contributions to the store of Semitic

¹ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 8ff.

myth and legend. Even at this late day we can read in the inscriptions of kings, both early and late, names of gods which are surely Semitic, and others which seem quite as certainly Sumerian.

It would be interesting, if only it were possible, to trace the separate influences of the Sumerian and Semitic peoples in that long sweep of history. We must be content to follow the history in its broad lines without even seeking to know what racial factors are in it.

Without a preliminary survey of the history of these two peoples it is quite impossible to understand the religion—which is the chief purpose of these lectures. It is a truism that all religions are closely connected with the history of the people who profess them. In no people is this more true than in the case of the Babylonians and Assyrians. A considerable proportion of their theological development has political foundation, and several of their gods are conditioned closely by the rise or fall of political power. In no way so well can we approach the pantheon as through the story of the empire's rise and fall. I propose, therefore, first of all to outline the whole story of both peoples before I come to the characterization of the gods, though in at least two cases we shall continually be able to see the gods themselves in the very process of theological definition as our eyes follow the armies in conquest and the statesmen in empire-building.



FIGURE I.—THE ANGEL OF LIGHT IN CONFLICT WITH A DRAGON
British Museum. Limestone slabs, Nos. 28 and 29

In the earliest period known to us the central governing fact was a city, with a king and a local deity. The god is so related to his worshipers that as they grew in wealth and power so did he. Impelled sometimes by ambition, often by hunger for bread, these petty kings conquered communities in their immediate neighborhood, and extended their sway. If the inhabitants of Erech could conquer the people of Larsa, was not this a proof that their's was the stronger god, and should not the conquered folk, or others who knew his prowess, also worship him? Herein we may discern the beginnings of small kingdoms, and the gradual founding of a pantheon.

In these early days the name of Babylonia was Kengi—that is, "land of canals and reeds." Even then the waters were conveyed to the fields and cities in artificially constructed canals, while the most characteristic form of vegetable life was the reed, growing luxuriantly along the water courses. In the southern part of this canal country, on the Persian Gulf, lay the city of Eridu, perhaps the oldest city known to us in the world. Its chief god was Ea. We do not know so much as the name of any of its early kings, but the wide recognition in later times of its god would seem to warrant the inference that it had at one time exercised sway over a large part of Babylonia.

The earliest king in Babylonia whose name

has come down to us was Enshagkushanna, the political center of whose kingdom was either Erech or Shirpurla, but the religious center was Nippur. The god whom he acknowledged was En-lil, to whom he dedicated a calcite stalagmite vase, which has come down to us broken into fragments indeed, but still able to witness to an ancient faith. This god has honors heaped upon him by the peoples of other places, and as Semitic civilization rose triumphant over Sumerian he was identified with the god Bel.

To this same period belong a line of rulers with Sumerian names, such as Lugal-shag-Engur, Ur-Nina, Akurgal, who ruled at Shirpurla or Lagash, the ruins of which are covered by the modern mound of Telloh. One of these monarchs, named Eannatum, has left a long inscription, boasting of the lands he had subjugated and the cities he had destroyed, naming among others Erech, Ur, Larsa, Gishku, Kish, and Elam.¹

During all this period, when the city kingdoms in the south were rising and falling, there was in northern Babylonia one city of which little is heard—the city of Babylon. The city could not be great until it had found a great man. The sixth king of the first dynasty of Babylon was Hammurabi, who ruled about

¹ On these early kings the excellent résumé by Albert T. Clay (*Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, p. 38ff.) may now be consulted.

two thousand years before Christ. This dynasty was founded by invaders from Arabia, and for three hundred years it maintained its supremacy in Babylonia. But, great as the dynasty was in power, it never again produced a man of such commanding influence and power as Hammurabi. It was his military prowess which united all Babylonia under a single sovereignty. The old city kingdoms disappeared, the old dynastic titles—King of Sumer and Accad—lived on only as conventional relics of a bygone day, while Babylon, and only Babylon, became the city of royalty and destiny. It was the genius of Hammurabi that supplied the city with civil government, and extended order and justice over the whole realm by a code of laws¹ which is even yet the wonder and admiration of the whole world. The aggrandizement of Babylon was the means of elevating her patron deity Marduk to a position at the head of the pantheon that then existed. There is no more interesting development in all the history of the Babylonian religion than this rise of Marduk to supremacy. The religious literature that had come down from ancient days was so changed as to accord the new honors to Marduk,

¹ The Code of Hammurabi, discovered December, 1901, and January, 1902, by J. de Morgan at Susa and published by Scheil in *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, vol. v, has been repeatedly translated into several languages. The most important for English readers are by C. H. W. Johns in *Hastings's Bible Dictionary*, Extra Volume, pp. 584ff., and by R. F. Harper. *The Code of Hammurabi*, Chicago, 1904.

displacing other gods by him. We shall see later how other gods were glorified by their worshipers from time to time, how Shamash received honors that seemed to threaten the preëminence of Marduk, but it was all in vain. Down through that long line of the centuries from 2000 B.C. to 500 B.C. he remained the chief god of the city of Babylon, and none could take away his palm of victory. It is a fascinating story of the *political* ascendancy of a god; as his people grew in power, so also did he. It is a marvel, but there are greater marvels in a neighboring faith.

The first dynasty of Babylon fell before an overpowering invasion of the Hittites from the far western mountains above the Mediterranean Sea¹; and when the turmoil was over Kassite rulers established themselves upon the throne which Hammurabi had made great. They accepted the dominant faith, administered the country with an iron hand and extended its borders, and when their dominion came to an end, about 1200 B.C., the glory and power of Marduk were assured until Babylon should pass from Semitic hands forever.

During all the period of Marduk's growth in power, as his victorious people were sweeping

¹ This fact, that it was a Hittite invasion which began the downfall, is due to a discovery of L. W. King (*Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, i, pp. 57, 59, 72, 149, etc.). The matter is of the highest importance in the reconstruction of ancient history, for it affords a new view of the Hittites, and a new appreciation of their position.

other peoples into their net, a somewhat similar movement was in progress on the banks of the Tigris in the northern part of the great valley. Assyria had been settled in the beginning by colonists from Babylonia, and the original stock was therefore the same. But while in Babylonia there was from the beginning a great mixture of blood, through the constant introduction of new strains by conquest or peaceful settlement, in Assyria, on the other hand, the Semitic strain remained comparatively pure. The differences in blood worked out into great national differences which persisted until the end of both kingdoms. The Assyrians were the more vigorous and warlike, while the Babylonians more and more, until the Chaldean domination, became the custodians of an ancient culture, and the founders of a noble civilization.

In the early days of the Assyrian power the relations with Babylonia were peaceful, but in the twelfth century began a series of contests for the control of the whole great valley. The first contest was between Nebuchadrezzar I (about 1140 B.C.),¹ king of Babylon, and

¹ To what I have said in my *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i, 426, there is now to be added a discussion by Hilprecht (*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. xx, part i, Mathematical, Metrological, and Chronological Tablets from the Temple Library of Nippur, p. 44 and especially footnote 1. Philadelphia, 1906). In this place Hilprecht says: "I have been convinced that the objections raised by Winckler and others against my placing Nebuchadrezzar I at the head of the second dynasty of Isin (—PA—SHE) are justified." As I was one of the "others" who argued against Hilprecht's former view I am glad to have his able support.

Ashurishishi, king of Assyria, and the Babylonian king was defeated, and forced to retreat in a rout, having burned his baggage to lighten his return to Babylon. The Assyrian king did not follow up his advantage, nor attempt to seize territory previously acknowledged as belonging to his adversary, but it was ominous for the future of Babylonia that one of the ablest kings she had yet had was defeated by a king out of Assyria. In a few years only, during the reign of Marduk-nadin-akhe, king of Babylon (about 1117-1096), the Assyrian king Tiglathpileser I swept victoriously over the northern part of Babylonia, capturing a number of cities, and even took Babylon itself. This was the first great blow at Babylonian independence, and though the Assyrians did not attempt to hold the city, the results could not but be felt for years.

The Assyrian kings who succeeded Tiglathpileser were not able to wield his sword, and soon a policy of conciliation was adopted, and the Assyrian king Ashurbelkala gave his daughter in marriage to the king of Babylonia. During these days the Assyrians were chiefly occupied in the strengthening and solidifying of their kingdom, while the Babylonians were too weak to undertake campaigns of conquest. The Babylonians had lost the key to Western Asia and the Assyrians had found it. The little city kingdom of Babylonia under the genius of

Hammurabi had become a great and powerful empire. None had dared dispute its onward march for a thousand years, but now its own daughter state had blocked its path, and the Babylonians would never again enjoy to the same degree an independence and a hegemony over other peoples.

And now we shall do well to look back over this great onward and upward movement of Assyria, and observe its religious side. The first Assyrian capital city was Asshur, the first rulers in Asshur were contemporaneous with the great first dynasty of Babylon, to which Hammurabi belonged. The chief god of the city of Asshur bore the name Ashur. He is a local deity, as was Marduk at Babylon, but though Marduk always remained at Babylon, Ashur accompanied his people when the capital was changed to Calah, and then to Nineveh and thence to Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad) and back again to Nineveh. As the Assyrian arms advanced victorious west and north and south, so did the god Ashur advance in power and dignity and rank. But in the period, which we have now reached, in our historical survey, when the Assyrians had conquered Babylon they made no attempt to introduce the worship of Ashur into the southern capital, much less to supplant Marduk. They appeared rather as willing worshipers of Marduk, and offered sacrifices in his temple, at the very moment when

their inscriptions ascribed their victories over their kinsfolk to the power of Ashur.

The period of Assyrian weakness, during which Babylonia had enjoyed some measure of political independence, ceased in 885 B.C., when Ashurnazirpal III came to the throne. He inherited a kingdom rich rather in possibilities than in actual possessions, but no king like unto him had ever before arisen in the little state by the Tigris, and the power of the Assyrian commonwealth grew apace. The Aramaic peoples in Mesopotamia and along the Euphrates were conquered, and the Assyrian arms were once more felt all the way to the Mediterranean. Wherever he went cities were destroyed, sowed with salt, and their inhabitants slain or brutally abused. Ashur is his chief aid, counselor, and stay, and as peoples and petty kingdoms went down beneath the Assyrian standards, so the honor of Ashur was increased.

The successor of Ashurnazirpal was Shalmaneser II, a great king of tremendous energy who extended his dominions, and for the first time in Assyrian history really tried to govern them. He made an expedition in 854 against Syria, and there met an alliance of nearly all the small western states, to which Ahab, king of Israel, made a contribution of men. This was the first contact between the Assyrian power and the Hebrew kingdom. Shalmaneser was again in the west in 849, 846, 842, and 839. The

Assyrian was beating in successive blows against the defenses of the small states in Western Asia, and his success in the end was certain. For nearly a hundred years after the death of Shalmaneser there arose kings in Assyria, not indeed so powerful as Ashurnazirpal and Shalmaneser, yet able to continue the development of the kingdom. There were the usual troubles that beset Oriental states, quarrels over the succession, and rebellions against the king who had gained the throne. In the midst of one of these rebellions the dynasty that had long been ruling disappeared and a usurper, Tiglathpileser IV,¹ known to the Hebrews also as Pul,² came to the throne. His accession marks the beginning of a new age in the development of the empire.

If Shalmaneser had begun the attempt really to rule the conquered dependencies, it was Tiglathpileser who first applied deportation and colonization as means for the complete subju-

¹ This is the king who was formerly known to Assyriologists as Tiglathpileser II, and who later became known as Tiglathpileser III, by which name he is known in most, even of the more recent, publications. Andrae has now shown that he must be designated as Tiglathpileser IV, through the discovery of another king who preceded him and bore the same name. See Andrae, *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft*, No. 32 (Nov., 1906), pp. 19ff., and compare King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, i, p. 202, n. 2.

² 2 Kings 15. 19. In 1 Chron. 5. 26, the writer considered Pul and Tiglathpileser as different persons. There can, however, be no doubt that they are the same person. The Babylonian Chronicle and the Ptolemaic Canon place this beyond dispute. See Winckler, *Die Keilschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 50, and Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, p. 326.

gation and control of other peoples. He went all over Western Asia in conquest; Damascus fell before him, northern Babylonia was reduced, and the conqueror adopted the style "King of Sumer and Akkad," as though he were the successor of the great Babylonian kings who had borne that title. In the west he was, if possible, still more successful. All northern Syria became Assyrian territory, and nearly the whole of the west paid heavy tribute. His great reign culminated in 728 B.C., when he actually took the hands of Marduk in Babylon in token of his sonship, and ascended the throne as king of Babylon—the proudest royal title in the world. In the next year he was dead. He had raised Assyria to a position of power unequalled by that of any other people, and the god Ashur had shared in the upward movement. He was no longer a mere local deity, but one of the greatest of all the gods. Shalmaneser had attempted to give great honor to Shamash, but Tiglathpileser consistently gives the highest place to Ashur, god of battles, as he had almost completely come to be.

In the short reign of Shalmaneser IV (727–723 B.C.) the Assyrians besieged Samaria, and at the beginning of the reign of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) the city succumbed. Sargon followed very nearly in the course of Tiglathpileser IV, and through tremendous difficulties carried the empire far beyond its former position. Though

the whole west "seethed with hate and discontent against the Assyrian," he reduced it to subjection, and though Babylonia had found a leader of consummate ability in the person of Merodach-baladan, Sargon overcame "the blasphemous usurper, who, for twelve years, had, against the will of the gods, ruled and tyrannized over Babylonia."¹ Sargon built himself a new capital city, twenty miles away from Nineveh on the foothills, and named it Dur-Sharrukin. There he died in 705 at the hands of an assassin. His inscriptions are full of religious passages, of praises to divers gods. Unlike Tiglathpileser's constant praise of Ashur, Sargon honors Shamash, Adad, Bel, Belit, Anu, Ishtar, Ea, Belit-ilani, Ninib, and many others.

The successor of Sargon was his son Sennacherib, whose name the Old Testament had long made familiar to all men. A boastful, arrogant, and cruel man, he was unable to equal the position held by his father, and the empire was weakened, not strengthened, by his policy. At the very beginning of his reign he invaded Babylonia and punished it severely for having again accepted Merodach-baladan as its king. Over the proud Babylonians he set up a puppet king, who, he says, "like a little dog had been brought up in my palace." In the year 701

¹ The rhetoric belongs to Sargon's historiographer (Triumphal Inscription, lines 121-124), and is a fair specimen of the hatreds of a warlike age.

he invaded Judah, and though he did not take Jerusalem, he left it "like a lodge in a garden of cucumbers," for he had ravaged all Judah. He attacked it again in 690, but had to return to invade Babylonia to drive out the persistent Merodach-baladan, who had taken the opportunity which Sennacherib's absence in the west had afforded him, and was seated once more on the throne of Hammurabi. Sennacherib seems to have been filled with an overmastering passion of hate, a madness of fury. He took Babylon, and in the year 689 destroyed it by fire, and left the noblest city that had ever stood in Western Asia a heap of blackened ruins. It seems the act of a madman, for it impoverished the world by the loss of untold treasures which a gifted people had devised and executed during the long roll of the centuries since the days of Hammurabi. To him it was a triumph of the gods, an enrichment of their glory and honor. As he set out on this mission of destruction he had prayed "to Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu, Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the gods in whom I had confidence, that I might conquer the powerful enemy. They gave ear to my prayers at once and came to my help. . . . I seized the strong bow which Ashur had intrusted to me, and I grasped the javelin which destroys life." From Babylon Sennacherib returned to spend eight years more of life, and then in 681, when he was kneeling at the shrine

of Nisroch,¹ his god, he was assassinated by his son,² and the reign of blood was over.

Esarhaddon, second son of Sennacherib, succeeded his father, and became in a few years one of the greatest of the kings of Assyria. He saw the folly of the destruction of Babylon, and it is the chief glory of his reign that he began, and partially carried out, its complete restoration. It is most interesting to see that he ascribes its destruction to the anger of the god Marduk: "To overthrow the country and to destroy the people he formed hostile plans; the canal Arakhtu, a river of plenty, a mighty flood, like a storm-god was brought, and he caused it to come against the city, its habitations, and its temples, and he made it resemble a ruin. The gods and goddesses residing therein ascended to heaven; the people dwelling within it were apportioned to bonds and bands, and they en-

¹ The god Nisroch has long been a puzzle. It is probably only an intentional malforming of the name of Marduk, as Abednego for Abed-Nebo. If this be true the place of Sennacherib's death must be sought in the great temple of Marduk at Babylon. This is confirmed by the mention of his death in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, who positively affirms that he was slain there. This may well enough be accommodated to the biblical reference by supposing a lacuna in the text (2 Kings 19. 36, 37) between the two verses. See further Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 85, and Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament in Lichte des Alten Orients*, 2te Auf., p. 531. For a quite different explanation see Hilprecht, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, x. p. xvi.

² The Babylonian Chronicle gives only one son; so also does Berosus, the son's name according to Polyhistor being Ardumuzanus, and according to Abydenus, Adramelus. The biblical passage gives *two* sons; but it is rather probably two names for the one person. So Winckler, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

tered into a state of slavery. He had decreed ten years as the length of its state of ruin, and the merciful Marduk was speedily appeased, and he drew to his side Babylonia both above and below. In the eleventh year I gave orders to reinhabit it." At the beginning of this inscription Esarhaddon introduces himself as one who fears Nabu and Marduk, and before he begins the work of Babylon's restoration he says: "About the doing of this work to the judgment of Shamash, Ramman, Marduk, chief justice of the gods, my lords, I bowed; I consulted them."

The greatest achievement in war during his reign was the conquest of Egypt. He prepared long and carefully for this great campaign. As early as 677 B.C. he invaded Phœnicia and destroyed Sidon, but could not take Tyre, though he battered at her land doors, for her sea doors stood open and he could neither enter them himself nor close them to the entry of supplies. But all the rest of Syria offered a ready submission, and when he had weakened northern and western Arabia so that it could give Egypt no help, the way lay open before him into the long and splendid valley of the Nile. It was in the year 670 that the Assyrians entered the Delta and went on in three successful battles, during the month of July, to break down the defenses of Tirhaqa, the Ethiopian king who then ruled Egypt, and Memphis was taken.

What a wealth of plunder must have come from that one city, sufficient in itself alone to make Nineveh a "pool"¹ of gold and silver.

The Assyrian empire had now attained the zenith of its power and glory. Esarhaddon could write upon the walls of a new palace these splendid words of pride: "Esarhaddon the great king, the powerful king, king of hosts, king of Assyria, governor of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the kings of Egypt, of Pathros and Cush." To whom does he ascribe all this victory? It is to Ashur that it is all ascribed. Other gods might help him to rebuild Babylon, but none but Ashur could help him to humble Egypt in the dust. Here are the words with which he begins the story of their great conquest: "When Ashur the great lord—in order to show the people the mightiness and greatness of my deeds—over the kings of the four quarters of the world strengthened my royal rule, and spread abroad the fame of my name, and placed in my hand a mighty scepter with which to overcome my enemies then the country (Egypt) rebelled against Assyria." The gods of Babylonia could not help him in such a crisis; there was needed the strong bow of Ashur—the great god of war. And even Ashur had never wrought a greater wrong than this sad desolation of Egypt.

When Esarhaddon was gone out from among

¹ Nahum 2. 8.

men he left behind him by will the provision, not that one son should succeed him, but two, and it was just that provision which began the destruction of the empire. It was his intention that his eldest son, Ashurbanipal, should be king in Nineveh, and that his younger son, Shamash-shum-ukin, should be king in Babylon. The younger son was to be supreme in the ancient city which had now been rebuilt, and should yet, in matters of imperial moment, be subordinate to his brother who ruled in Nineveh. It was an impossible arrangement; the one or the other would have to give way, and permanent peace could only be achieved through civil war. It was that civil war which so sapped the vital strength of Assyria as to prepare for its end. Before the civil war there were severe conflicts in which decay begins to make itself known.

When Esarhaddon was dead Egypt revolted at once, and Ashurbanipal had a severe campaign until Thebes was taken, sacked, and the army "with full hands" returned home. Necho remained faithful to the end, but his son Psammeticus rebelled successfully and Assyrian domination over Egypt ceased forever. Never again did the Assyrian empire reach so wide a territory as in the reign of Esarhaddon. But, great though this loss was, the greatest calamity of the reign was the victory over Shamash-shum-ukin, achieved at terrible sacrifice of valuable

lives and of great treasure. Campaigns in Elam and in Arabia fill out the measure of Ashurbanipal's work in war, for the greater part of his energy went into building temples and palaces, and he it was whose eager desire to found a great royal library has preserved for us a large part of all the written records of both Babylonian and Assyrian deeds and thoughts which have come down to us. For us his true greatness consists in these works of peace, but we must not allow them to blind our eyes to the savagery with which he waged war. There is a trail of blood and fire over his story, and nameless barbarities inflicted in many places disgrace his memory. He boasts that he had acquired "the wisdom of Nabu, and learned all the knowledge of writing of all the scribes." He has the largest pantheon of any of the Assyrian kings, and we can still hear him invoking Ashur, Beltis, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninib, Nergal, and others. But he calls himself the son of Ashur and Beltis, and he boasts: "I am a warlike man, the favorite of Ashur and Ishtar."

The kings who followed Ashurbanipal could not lift his scepter, much less sway kingdoms beneath it. The empire fell rapidly. The Scythian hordes swept over Western Asia, the Medes on the east listened to the suggestion of a new usurper in Babylonia, and in 607-6 B.C. the city of Nineveh, which had defied the whole

earth and ruled its fairest portions, was taken by the Medes, sacked, and left a heap of ruins, while its proud inhabitants were scattered on the mountains. The god Ashur went down with his people. He was but a god of blood and fire, and could not survive the decay of the powers of blood and fire which alone had made him great. He had no great ethical character, was no better than his people. As the Egyptian proverb has it, "The ox which goes at the head of the herd and leads the others to pasture is but an animal like his fellows."¹

When the sword and scepter slipped from the hands of Ashurbanipal the supreme power in Babylon was seized by the Chaldeans, who had so long tried in vain to seize it. It was a Chaldean prince, by name Nabopolassar, who took the reins of government in 625 B.C. and began the upbuilding of a great new empire. We know all too little of his reign, but we do learn from one of his successors that it was he who incited the Medes to attack Nineveh. He was not allowed to seize the great possessions of Assyria in Western Asia, for the Egyptians under Necho II contested the claim. But the greater son of Nabopolassar, Nebuchadrezzar, drove the Egyptians in a rout home, and would have successfully invaded Egypt had not the death of his father compelled his immediate return to Babylon. His further campaigns that

¹ Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 503.

have most deeply stirred the imagination and affected human history were made against the tiny little kingdom of Judah. Its capital city, Jerusalem, he destroyed in 586 B.C., and carried away a part of its inhabitants into Babylonia. Tyre baffled him as it had many another Eastern conqueror, but he penetrated successfully into Egypt.

These were great achievements, but Nebuchadrezzar himself desired to be best remembered as the man who had rebuilt Babylon on a scale of magnificence undreamed of in former days. Under his administration the city grew in commercial importance, and all lands, even far-distant Greece, looked toward it with admiration or envy. In Nebuchadrezzar the Chaldeans reached the summit of their influence in the world. A man of blood and iron he was, but a man who revered the gods beyond all the kings who had ruled before him. With him, as with the Babylonian kings for many centuries, the chief god was Marduk, whom the king calls "the preëminent, the honored, the leader of the gods, the Prince Marduk." To him he prays in words of great beauty and impressiveness:

O eternal prince! Lord of all being!
To the king whom thou lovest, and
Whose name thou hast proclaimed
As was pleasing to thee,
Do thou lead aright his name,
Guide him in a straight path.
I am the prince, thy favorite,

The creature of thy hand;
 Thou hast created me, and
 With dominion over all people
 Thou hast intrusted me.
 According to thy favor, O Lord,
 Which thou dost bestow on
 All people,
 Cause me to love thy exalted lordship,
 And create in my heart
 The worship of thy divinity,
 And grant whatever is pleasing to thee,
 Because thou hast fashioned my life.¹

But though Marduk seems thus to be exalted above all others, nevertheless Nebuchadrezzar has an extended pantheon, with worship and honors for Shamash and Adad and Ishtar and many another. But there is no glory of war, and no god to fill the place occupied by Ashur in the Assyrian annals.

After the death of Nebuchadrezzar the Chaldean empire began to go rapidly toward its end. The next king was Amel-Marduk (Evil-merodach, 2 Kings 25. 27ff.), who met his death in a rebellion, and was followed by the two brief reigns of Nergal-shar-usar (Neriglissar, Nergal-sharezer, Jer. 39. 3, 13), and Labashi-Marduk. The next king was Nabu-na'id (Nabonidus), the last Chaldean king (555-538 B.C.), who busied himself chiefly with the restoration of temples,

¹ Nebuchadrezzar, *East India House Inscription*, col. i, 55-col. ii, i. Compare translation into German by Winckler, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iii, part 2, p. 13.

and displayed the keen eagerness of an archæologist to learn the names and dates of the kings who had built the temples in the beginning or had restored them in the days before him. He was without military skill or interest, and as the armies of Cyrus drew steadily southward toward the capital he was in retirement at Tema, a suburb of Babylon, while the "son of the king, the nobles, and the army were in Akkad."¹ In 538 Babylon opened its doors to Cyrus without a struggle, and the kingdom which Hammurabi had founded ceased forever. Babylon became the chief city of a province in the empire which Cyrus built up with an almost incredible swiftness and sureness of action. With the passing of Nabonidus the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians departed from among the vital religions of men. The gods were indeed still venerated for a time by the living men who had lost their sovereign power, but not even Marduk had the vitality to outlive the fortunes of his people. He had been great because they were great; in their sad plight he also had fallen on evil days.

And now that we have surveyed the history in which the religion of Babylonia and Assyria had its growth and development, we must come to a closer view of the religion, and we shall do well to group the history into three great periods,

¹ Probably under the leadership of Belshazzar. See Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, ii, 375.

as Professor Jastrow¹ has done. I. The first of these periods extends from the earliest times known to us down to the union of the Babylonian states under Hammurabi (about 2000 B.C.). II. The second period extends to the rise of the Chaldean empire under Nabopolassar (625 B.C.), and (III) the third period embraces the brief history of this Chaldean or Neo-Babylonian empire to the fall of Babylon under Cyrus (538 B.C.). The Assyrian religion belongs in the second period, though it extends even into the third period, for Nineveh did not fall until 607 B.C.

The survey which is intended in this course of lectures is divided into (a) the Pantheon, (b) the Cosmologies, (c) the Sacred Books, and (d) the Myths and Epics. The division is practical rather than scientific. If it were the purpose in these lectures to view the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians objectively, to cast up the balance of its theology and to view it as it was alone, in and of itself, we should do better to adopt Jastrow's arrangement and divide our discussion into (a) Pantheon, (b) Religious Literature, and (c) Cultus. But it is the aim of these lectures not merely to see what the religion of Babylonia and Assyria was, but to view it with especial reference to its relation to the religion of Israel and the influence of its

¹ "The Religion of Babylonia," *Hastings's Bible Dictionary*, Extra Volume, p. 536, col. 2.

religious literature on the Old Testament. With this end in view it is fitting to shift our emphasis away from the cultus, which had a lesser influence upon Israel, to the religious literature, which touches the Old Testament at so many points, and may well occupy three lectures and fall into the subdivisions of (a) the Cosmologies, (b) the Sacred Books, and (c) the Myths and Epics.

The origin of the Babylonian religion is hid from our eyes in those ancient days of which we know little, and can never hope to know much. When we attempt to go behind the written documents which have come down to us from the early Sumerian kings we are treading in dark places, and may easily mistake a bypath for the open road. But while we maintain all reserve and proceed with all caution, not deluding ourselves with the false idea of knowing much, perhaps we may safely say that beneath all the belief in gods there lies deep down in the Sumerian consciousness the belief in *animism*,¹ and that herein are we to discern one fundamental fact in the Babylonian religion. It was the belief of the Sumerians, and of the early Babylonians, who were influenced by them, that every object, animate or inanimate, as we may call them, had a *zi*, or spirit. We translate this word *zi* "spirit," but it seems

¹ See especially on Animism, Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 21ff.

originally to have meant life. But life manifests itself to us as motion. Everything which moves has life. "Life was the only force known to man which explained motion, and, conversely, motion was the sign and manifestation of life. The arrow which sped through the air or the rock which fell from the cliff did so in virtue of their possessing life, or because the motive force of life lay in some way or other behind them. The stars which slowly moved through the sky, and the sun which rose and set day by day, were living beings; it was life which gave them the power of movement, as it gave the power of movement to man himself and the animals by whom he was surrounded. The power of movement, in fact, separated the animate from the inanimate; all that moved possessed life; the motionless was lifeless and dead."¹ This conception of the *zi*, or spirit, endured long in the Babylonian religion, and was only gradually replaced by higher ideas.

Besides this belief in animism I think that we can see among the earliest peoples in Babylonia the influence of a belief in ghosts, that were related to the world of the dead, as the *zi* was related to the world of the living. The *lil*, or ghost, was a night demon of terrible and baleful influence upon men, and only to be cast out with many incantations. The *lil* was attended by a serving maid, the *ardat lili* (maid

¹ Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 276.

of night), which in the Semitic development was transferred into the feminine *lilitu*. It is most curious and interesting to observe that this ghost-demon lived on through all the history of the Babylonian religion and was carried over into the Hebrew religion, there to find one single mention in the words of one of the prophets.¹

The origin of the Babylonian religion is to be sought neither in animism nor in this "ghost" idea. It goes far deeper. In the very earliest Sumerian texts the gods are already present and worshiped. As Max Müller has said, "We can hear in all religions a groaning of the spirit, a struggle to conceive the inconceivable, to utter the unutterable, a longing after the infinite, a love of God."² However one would like to discover "the thread that connects the origin of thought and languages with the origin of mythology and religion," there is no probability that it will leap quickly to our understanding as we contemplate the dour remains of the early faith of southern Babylonia.

But though we cannot find the origin we do come early upon a real religion in Babylonia. Contemporaneously with these animistic and

¹ Isa. 34. 14. Heb., Lilith. A. V. translates erroneously "screech owl"; the R. V., "night-monster."

² Max Müller, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by the Religions of India*, p. 23. London, 1880. Quoted, with illuminative comment, by Jastrow, *The Study of Religion*, p. 163. London, 1901.

ghostly ideas we find numbers of local gods. Every center of human habitation had its special patron deity, and this deity is always associated with some great natural phenomenon. It was most natural that the sun and moon should stand first and foremost among these gods, but by the side of these other natural objects or forces were personified and deified—streams, stones, and many others.

Our chief source of information concerning the gods of the first period of religious development before the days of Hammurabi (2000 B.C.) is the historic inscriptions of the early kings and rulers. Many of these describe votive offerings of temples and treasures made to the gods, and all of them are religious in tone and filled with ascription of praise to the gods. From these early texts Professor Jastrow¹ has extracted the names of the following deities, gods and goddesses. I reproduce his list as the best yet made, but keep in mind that some of the readings are doubtful and some were certainly otherwise read by the Babylonians or Sumerians, though we do not now know how they ought to be read. The progress of the Assyrian research is continually providing corrected readings for words hitherto known to us only in ideograms. It is quite to be expected that many of these strange, not to say

¹ Morris Jastrow, Jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i, pp. 51, 52. Leipzig, 1902—.

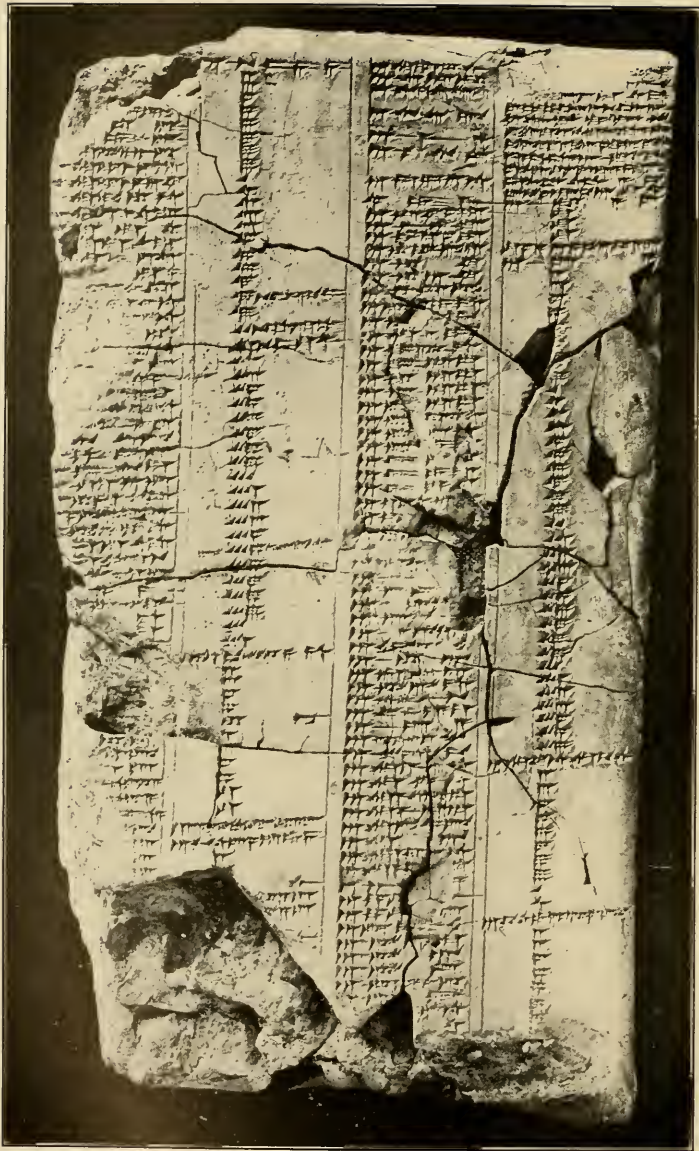


FIGURE II.—LIST OF NAMES AND TITLES OF GODS

British Museum, 4332

Size of the original, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches

grotesque, names will some day prove to be quite simple, and easy to utter: En-lil (El-lil, Bel) Belit, Nin-khar-sag, Nin-gir-su, who also appears as Dun-gur, Bau, Ga-tum-dug, Nin-din-dug, Ea, Nin-a-gal, Gal-dim-zu-ab, Nin-ki, Damgal-nun-na, Nergal, Shamash, A or Malkatu, the wife of Shamash, Nannar or Sin, Nin-Urum, Innanna, Nana, Anunit, Nina, Ishtar, Anu, Nin-dar-a, Gal-alim, Nin-shakh, Dun-shagga, Lugal-banda, with a consort Nin-sun, Dumu-zizu-ab, Dumu-zi, Lugal-Erim, Nin-e-gal and Ningal, Nin-gish-zi-da, Dun-pa-uddu, Nin-mar, Pasag, Nidaba, Ku(?)anna, Shid, Nin-agid-khadu, Nin-shul-li, En-gubarra, Im-mi-khu(?), Urdu-zi, Kadi, Nu-ku-sir-da, Ma-ma, Za-ma-ma, Za-za-ru, Im-pa-ud-du, Ur-e-nun-ta-ud-du-a, Khi-gir-nunna, Khi-shagga, Gur-mu, Zar-mu, Dagan, Damu, Lama, Nesu, Nun-gal, An-makh, Nin-si-na, Nin-asu. In this list great gods, and goddesses, and all kinds of minor deities are gathered together, and the list looks and sounds hopeless. But these are local deities, and some of them are mere duplications. Nearly every place in early times would have a sun god or a moon god or both, and in the political development of the country the moon god of the conquering city displaced or absorbed the moon god of the conquered. When we have eliminated these gods, who have practically disappeared, there remains a comparatively small number of gods who outrank all the others.

In the earliest times known to us the greatest of the gods is the god of Nippur, whose name in the Sumerian texts is En-lil, or Ellil.¹ In the Semitic pantheon he was identified with the god Bel, and it is as Bel that he has chiefly been known to later times. He is the "lord of the underworld" in the very earliest inscriptions. In the very ancient text of En-shag-kush-an-na he is a powerful god who gave victory to the king, and therefore received from the king a dedication of the spoil. In Nippur was his chief temple, called E-kur, or mountain house. It was built and rebuilt by the kings of Babylonia again and again from the days of Sargon I (3800 B.C.) onward, and no less than twenty kings are known to us from his days all the way down the centuries to Ashurbanipal who prided themselves on their work of rebuilding this one temple. Far beyond Nippur his power extended; the kings of Kish brought offerings to him; he is saluted as Bel, that is lord, "the great lord the command of whose mouth cannot be altered and whose grace is steadfast." When Babylon came to be the chief city of Babylonia, and so its local god, Marduk, rose in estimation, the honors of En-lil were gradually transferred to him. He was called Bel-Marduk, and in still later times the name Bel even began to supplant Marduk and the god of Babylon was called

¹ See A. T. Clay, "Ellil, the God of Nippur," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. xxiii, No. 4, July, 1907.

simply Bel. To Marduk was also ascribed the honor and title of creator of the world, which had originally belonged to En-lil.

By the side of En-lil in the early days there was ranged a consort, Nin-lil, the queen of the lower world, and when En-lil was identified with Bel she became Belit. She is also called Nin-khar-sag, "queen of the great mountain."

The god who ranks next in importance to En-lil in early Babylonia is Ea,¹ originally the local god of Eridu. His Sumerian name is En-ki, the god of the watery world, both of the waters on the earth and of the waters beneath the earth. His temple in Eridu was called E-apsu, "house of the ocean," and the temple and the god alike lead our thoughts back to those ancient days when the city of Eridu was located on the waters of the Persian Gulf, and the Tigris and Euphrates poured their waters through separate estuaries into the salt sea. Berosus handed on to the Greeks the tradition that the water deity Oannes, who apparently personified the Persian Gulf, had brought the beginnings of culture to mankind. This Oannes is none other than Ea, who is continually called the "lord of wisdom," and who was appealed to more than any other god in the incantation tablets down to very late times.

¹ It is probable that the name ought to be read Ae, instead of Ea. At any rate, so the Greeks seem to have transliterated it (*'Aoc*, Damascius).

When other gods failed he was addressed in confident hope.

In the case of Ea, as in that of Ellil, when Babylon became the world city the powers and prerogatives of Ea were transferred to Marduk, and the process in this case is particularly interesting. Marduk is made the son of Ea by a piece of theological speculation, and Ea is made to rejoice in Marduk's honors and in his elevation to the head of the pantheon. Ea had been called the creator of men, but this is also given over to Marduk, and when we come to read the story of the flood in its ordinary Assyrian version we shall see how the idea of the creation of man by Marduk was wrought into that ancient story.

Associated with Ellil and Ea Babylonia early revered a god Anu, whose local worship is associated with Erech in the south and with Durilu, that is, Der, in the north. Lugal-zaggisi was a "priest of Ana," and so we may properly regard Ana as a Sumerian god, but he is known to us chiefly through the Semites, who called him Anu, the god of the heaven, or the sky.

And now theological speculation even before the days of Hammurabi made these three gods into a triad, Anu, the god of heaven, and Ellil, or Bel, the god of earth and air above the earth, and Ea, the god of water on the earth and beneath the earth. Down through the centuries these gods are

continually invoked together. Behind these in very ancient times, as the later creation story shows us, there was a duad, Anshar, the god of the upper all, and Kishar, the goddess of the lower all, and beside these another duad, Lahmu, Lahamu. But these disappeared out of later theological thinking, save that from Anshar came the name of Ashur,¹ the god of the Assyrians, who looms so large in the history which has already passed in review before us.

By the side of these gods stood goddesses, with Anu, his wife Antum, or Antu, by the side of Bel the goddess Belit, and by the side of Ea his wife Damkina, but the role of these is not great, and we may perhaps think of them chiefly as the result of a grammatical necessity in the Semitic mind, which must always associate a feminine with a masculine.

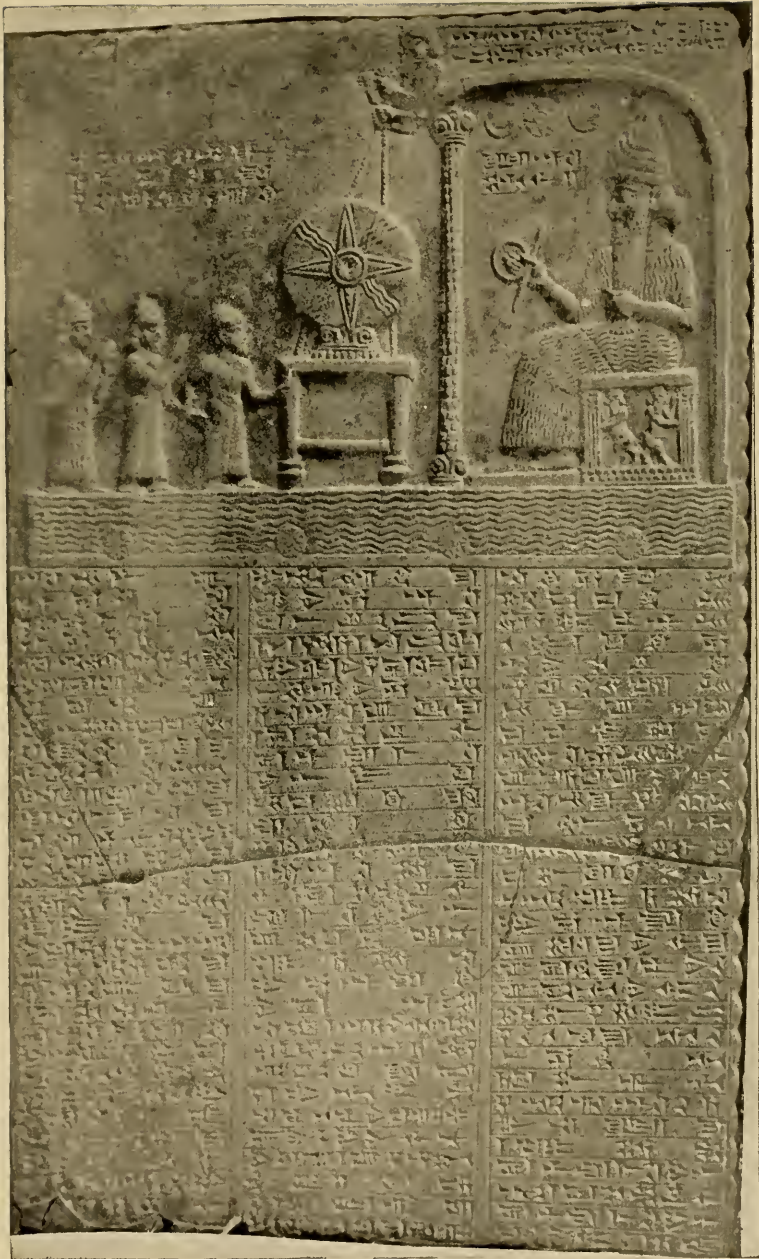
And now we must turn from the triad Anu, Bel, and Ea to see how another triad was built up by the side of the first. And the god to whom we must first give heed is *Sin*. We do not know what was the origin of the word *Sin*, but there can be no doubt of the god's place in the pantheon. *Sin* is the moon god, and the

¹ Professor Sayce has a different explanation of the origin of the divine name Ashur, as the following indicates: "The supreme god of Assyria was Assur; the other gods were of Babylonian origin. And in the name of Assur we have the name of the country itself and its primitive capital. Assur, in short, was the deified city of Assur, the divine state which from the days of its successful revolt from Babylonia was predominantly military, with all the union and discipline of a military organization."—*The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 366.

moon god had his local habitation in southern Babylonia at Ur, and in northern Babylonia at Harran. In early times the god is called Nannar, which signifies "the one who gives light," but whether this is a name or an appellation is not quite certain, and it may be that the word Nannar ought really to be read Ur¹—so making the name of the god and his chief city the same. No god much excels the god Sin in the honors given him in early times, and this was most natural, for the moon plays a great role in the life of the nomadic peoples, especially those of Arabia, who travel and indeed perform many functions of life largely at night because of the heat of the day.

As men advanced to the agricultural stage the sun outstripped the moon in importance, and so the sun gods of many different places began to rank close to or above the moon god. The chief of the solar deities was Shamash, who was worshiped in the south at Larsa and in the north at Sippar. His Sumerian name was Utu. But there were other sun gods, Nin-girsu of Shirpurla, and Nergal of Cutha, nay, even Marduk of Babylon was originally a solar deity. Shamash is regarded as the god of healing, and is constantly appealed to in incantation texts down to a very late date. To him also were addressed hymns of such surpassing nobleness

¹ It is written with the same ideogram as the name of the city.



THE SUN GOD (SHAMASH) OF SIPPAR
British Museum

of phrase and depth of feeling as to surpass all others.

To Sin and Shamash there was joined to the forming of a triad the great goddess Ishtar. She is called at times the daughter of Anu, and again the daughter of Bel or of Sin. She is the goddess *par excellence*. Other female deities are no more than pale reflections of the male deity whose wives they were accounted, but Ishtar is able to stand quite alone. She is the great mother-goddess. She is the "queen of the heavens and of the stars." She is the planet Venus, and so is naturally grouped with the moon and the sun into a triad. She is also the goddess of life and of vegetation, and absorbed into herself all the other goddesses whose attributes were similar to hers. Even so early as the period of Hammurabi she is also become the "queen of battle and war," and in this role she fits directly into the Assyrian consciousness and is placed side by side with Ashur, not as a pale reflection, as a wife or consort, but as a real deity of tremendous importance.

In this second triad Ishtar is often replaced by the god Adad, called also by the Assyrians Ramman. He is the god of rain and of storms, and hence also of the mountains, among which the storms are gathered and the thunder is heard to roll. Adad has no local abiding place in Babylonia, and there seems but little doubt that he was introduced among the Semites of

Babylonia from the Semites of Syria. He has a consort, Shala,¹ who plays no independent part.

I have already shown how the god of Babylon, Marduk, rose to the highest place in the pantheon solely through the political growth of Babylon. His temple in Babylon, called E-sagila, that is, "the lofty house," became the chief sanctuary of the country. When we come to discuss the splendid creation story we shall see vividly how effectively the literature that once had honored other gods was rewritten to set Marduk above all others.

Borsippa in later days is a suburb of Babylon, but it was an older city than Babylon, and its god Nabu, or Nebo, as the Old Testament calls him, was an older and originally a more important god than Marduk. He was manifested in the planet Mercury. He was originally, like Ea, a water deity, and to him are ascribed many of the attributes which distinguish Ea. He is said to have taught mankind writing, and the priests of Babylon even mention his name before Marduk's in their astronomical reports. In the late period, when the art of writing filled so large a place in royal and popular estimation in Assyria, Nabu is even more highly esteemed there than in Babylonia.

The god of Cutha was Nergal. As I have already stated, he was in origin a solar deity,

¹ Sala—"wife" in Mitannian (Sayce).



STATUE OF THE GOD NABU
British Museum

but his planet was Saturn, and he is the god of fever and pestilence. With him there is constantly confused the god Ninib, whose planet is Mars, who is the god of war. These two gods, Nergal and Ninib, like Ishtar, find even greater honor among the Assyrians than among their own people, the Babylonians.

We have now surveyed all the chief divinities of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and we have passed in a sort of hasty review the names of many other minor deities. Some of them are known to us only in proper names, others find the merest passing mention in the boastful words of some king. We have also seen how the gods rose higher as their worshipers increased in power, and how they slipped away into weakness and dishonor as their worshipers sank down in rank among other cities and peoples. We have seen also how gods passed from west to east and from east to west, and how they absorbed gods of minor places within themselves. We can see also how strong a tendency there was to diminish the number of the gods. They are in early days mentioned by the score, but as time goes on many of these vanish away and only the few remain. As Jastrow¹ has pointed out, Shalmaneser II (859–825 B.C.) had only eleven gods in his pantheon: Ashur, Anu, Bel, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Ninib, Nergal, Nusku, Belit, and Ishtar. Sennacherib

¹ Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, i, pp. 246, 247.

(705-681) usually mentions only eight, namely, Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel (that is, Marduk), Nabu, Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, and Ishtar of Arbela. But we must not lay much emphasis upon the smallness of this number, for in his building inscription at the end he invokes twenty-five deities, and even though some of these are duplicates of other gods, as Jastrow correctly explains, nevertheless the entire list is considerably increased over the eight above mentioned. In the late Babylonian period the worship seems chiefly devoted to Marduk, Nabu, Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar. Often there seem little faint indications of a further step forward. Some of the hymns addressed to Shamash seem almost upon the verge of exalting him in such a way as to exclude the other deities, but the step is never taken. The Babylonians, with all their wonderful gifts, were never able to conceive of one god, of one god alone, of one god whose very existence makes logically impossible the existence of any other deity. Monotheism transcends the spiritual grasp of the Babylonian mind.

Amid all this company of gods, amid all these speculations and combinations, we must keep our minds clear, and fasten our eyes upon the one significant fact that stands out above all others. It is that the Babylonians were not able to rise above polytheism; that beyond them, far beyond them, lay that great series of

thoughts about God that ascribe to him aloneness, to which we may add the great spiritual ideas which to-day may be roughly grouped under Ethical Monotheism. Here and there great thinkers in Babylonia grasped after higher ideas, and were able only to attain to a sort of pantheism of a speculative kind. A personal god, righteous and holy, who loved righteousness and hated sin, this was not given to them to conceive.

But to the poor little Hebrew folk who once were slaves in Egypt, to them did these great thoughts come, and to them came the amazing power so to state them in history as to give mankind once and for all a conception of God of such power that the men who seize it begin at once a transformation of life of surpassing grandeur and importance. Wherein the Babylonian religion fell short, therein the Hebrew rose to conquer.

The Babylonian and Assyrian gods, from Anu, Bel, and Ea on down through the long list, have passed away from among men, and nowhere in all the world do men revere these names. But there was one divine name in Babylonia which has survived the crash of time, and as the climax of all this study of the names of the gods we must give due heed to it.

In August, 1898, Professor Sayce¹ made the

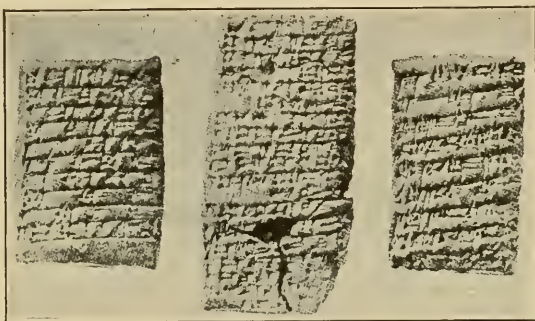
¹ *Expository Times*, ix, p. 522. The name was quoted from the tablet Bu. 88-5-12, 329, published in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, iv, 27.

most interesting announcement that he had just discovered upon a small Babylonian text in the British Museum the name *Ja-u-um-ilu*, which he translated "Yahveh is god." The publication of this announcement called forth at once a note from Professor Hommel¹ suggesting the appearance of the same Yau in another Babylonian name. The discovery of Professor Sayce seemed long to lie comparatively fallow. It excited interest only among scholars, and produced very little popular stir. But upon January 13, 1902, Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, of the University of Berlin, eminent alike as a scholar, a teacher, and the founder of the greatest school of Assyriologists in the world, delivered a lecture in the *Sing Academie* in Berlin in the presence of the German emperor. The lecture was a brilliant exposition of the achievements of Assyriology in casting a valuable light upon the Old Testament. Much of what he said awakened no controversy. It was, indeed, in large part known already, and the interest lay chiefly in the skill of its exposition by a master, who had himself made contributions of enduring quality to the science. But as the lecture went on Professor Delitzsch spoke of the supposed occurrence of monotheism in Babylonia, and there entered upon a most disputed realm. Then he said: "But, further, through the kindness of the head of the department of Assyrian and

¹ *Expository Times*, x, p. 42, Oct., 1898.

Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum, I am able to give a representation of three small clay tablets (see below). What is to be seen on these tablets? I shall be asked. Fragile, broken clay upon which are scratched characters scarcely legible! That is true, no doubt, yet they are

precious for this reason: they can be dated with certainty, they belong to



THREE TABLETS WITH THE NAME OF JAHWEH

the age of Hammurabi, one in particular to the reign of his father, Sin-muballit. But

Ia-	a'-	ve-	ilu
Ia-	ve-	ilu	
Ia-	u-	um-	ilu

they are still more precious for another reason: they contain three names which, from the point of view of the history of religion, are of the most far-reaching importance:

The names are *Yahwe is God*. Therefore Yahwe, the Existing, the Enduring one (we have reasons for saying that the name may mean this), the one devoid of all change, not like us men, who to-morrow are but a thing of yesterday, but one who, above the starry vault which shines with

everlasting regularity, lives and works from generation to generation—this 'Yahwe' was the spiritual possession of those same nomad tribes out of which after a thousand years the children of Israel were to emerge."¹

These words led to a controversy, widespread, intense, and sometimes conducted in very bad temper. All sorts of controversialists² entered the field essaying to prove that Delitzsch had either misread or misinterpreted his texts. The matter has finally sifted down to very narrow limits of doubt indeed. There can be no doubt

¹ Friedrich Delitzsch, *Babel und Bibel*, Erster Vortrag Fünfte neu durchgesehene Ausgabe, pp. 49, 50. Leipzig, 1905. See the translation of this paragraph by C. H. W. Johns, *Babel and Bible*, pp. 70-72. Two Lectures. London and New York, 1903.

² There is no need to enumerate here the extensive list of replies to Delitzsch. The following may be cited as being among the more significant:

Eduard König, *Bibel und Babel, Eine kulturgeschichtliche Skizze*, 6te Auf. Berlin, 1902.

Karl Budde, *Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen*. Giessen, 1903.

Karl Budde, *Was soll die Gemeinde aus dem Streit um Babel und Bibel lernen?* Leipzig, 1903.

Fritz Hommel, *Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament. Eine Erwiderung auf Prof. Fr. Delitzsch's Babel und Bibel*. Berlin, 1902.

Alfred Jeremias, *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel. Ein wort zur Verständigung und Abwehr*, 3te Auf. Leipzig, 1903.

Samuel Oettli, *Der Kampf um Bibel und Babel. Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Vortrag*.

Heinrich Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und Bibel*. Berlin, 1903.

C. F. Lehmann, *Babyloniens Kulturmission einst und jetzt*. Leipzig, 1903.

C. Bezold, *Die Babylonisch-assyrischen Keilinschriften und ihre Bedeutung für das Alte Testament*. Tübingen und Leipzig, 1904.

Max Löhr, *Babel und die biblische Urgeschichte*. Breslau, 1903.

Paul Haupt, *Bible and Babel*, Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 163, pp. 47-51. Baltimore, 1903.

that Ja-u-um-ilu is to be read "Jau is god"; it is exactly the equivalent of the biblical name Joel. It may still be granted that a slight doubt exists about the first two of these names. It has been attempted on several sides to show that the first half of these names may be a verb form,¹ and the words therefore are interpreted as meaning "God exists," or "God lives." But there is no such personal name anywhere to be found among the northern Semites, and the explanation is without other support. By far the more natural explanation is that the name is to be interpreted as "Jahweh is god."

Here, then, is the name Jahweh in use among the Babylonians, at the Hammurabi period, two thousand years before Christ.

But still further support for the Babylonian use of the name has been provided by the discoveries of Dr. Clay in the Kassite period, about 1500 B.C. He has found the names Ja-u-bani, Ja-u-a, Ja-a-u, Ja-ai-u, and even the feminine form Ja-a-u-tum. Ja-u-bani means "Jau is creator," and is formed exactly as Ilu-bani (*Ilu is creator*) and Shamash-bani (*Shamash is creator*). Here, then, is positive proof that the Babylonians were accustomed to the use of the

¹ The attempt to show that the reading is incorrect and that the first two should be read Ya-' a-bi-lu (so, for example, by Bezold in a very interesting note, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xvi, pp. 415ff.) must be regarded as a failure. The *reading* is certain, the only possible doubt concerns the interpretation.

divine name Jau, or Jahweh, during the period from 2000 B.C. to 1400 B.C.¹

Outside of Babylonia the divine name Jahweh has also been found. Upon a letter discovered at Ta'anek, above the plain of Esdraelon, and written about 1450 B.C., there occurs the name Akhi-ja-mi,² and this name seems to be the equivalent of the Old Testament name Ahijah (1 Kings 14. 4) (*Jehovah is brother, or relative*), which is thus borne by a non-Israelite. But the name Jahweh appears also as a part of the name of a king of Hamath, the north Syrian commonwealth, in the eighth century B.C. This king, who was conquered by Sargon II, king of Assyria (722-705 B.C.), bears the name Ja-u-bi-'-di, and his name is also written

¹ A name Lipush-e-a-um occurs as the name of a daughter of Naram-Sin and granddaughter of Sargon I, a priestess of Sin (Thureau-Dangin, *Comptes Rendus, Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1899, p. 348, pl. 1). This has been taken by Radau (*Early Babylonian History*, p. 173) as also containing the name Jau, and so as having some such meaning as "May Jau make." This also has been accepted by Dr. C. F. Burney in a most suggestive paper ("A Theory of the Development of Israelite Religion in Early Times," *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1908, p. 342). The reading is most doubtful, and should not be cited as an occurrence of Jau. I am disposed to think that the god here meant is Ea.

² The letter is published by Hrozný in Sellin, *Tell Ta'anek*, p. 116. Wien, 1904. See further a very cautious allusion to the name in Sellin, *Die alttestamentliche Religion im Rahmen der andern altorientalischen*, p. 61. Leipzig, 1908. In this little book it seems to me that Sellin might have safely spoken more positively of the occurrence of Jahweh in Babylonian; for example, in the following sentences the caution is surely excessive: "Ist der Name Jahwe ein spezifisches israelitisches Eigenthum? Diese Behauptung lässt sich kaum noch mit Sicherheit aufrecht halten. Zwar das Vorkommen des Namens auf kananäischen Keilschrifttafeln sowohl aus Babylon (um 2000) wie aus Palästina (Ta'anek um 1450) ist sehr unsicher" (p. 61).

I-lu-bi'-di.¹ Here there is an interchange between Ilu and Jau exactly as in Hebrew the name Elnathan interchanges with Jonathan.

There can therefore be no escape from the conclusion that the divine name Jahweh is not a peculiar possession of the Hebrews. It covers a large extent of territory both geographically and ethnologically,² and the rapid accumulation of cases in which it appears during so few years makes reasonably probable a still wider use of the name than has yet been actually proved.³

How came this name into the hands of the Hebrews? That is a question most fascinating and interesting, but it is impossible to answer it with certainty. The Jahvist uses the name Jahweh from the beginning, and regards it as known and revered by the saints and heroes far beyond the days of Moses, but the Elohist (Exod. 3. 13ff.) and the Priest Codex (Exod. 6.

¹ Inscriptions of Sargon, Stele i, 53; Annals, 23; Triumphal Inscription, 33; Nimroud Inscription, 8. The passages may readily be found in Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*. Leipzig, 1889.

² I cannot regard as successful the attempt of Dr. C. J. Ball to find the word Jau in the Gilgamesh epic as a divine name or title, "a god-man." (See the exposition of this explanation by C. F. Burney in the article cited, *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1908, pp. 341, 342.) The expression in question is *ia-u amelu* (Tablet x, col. iv, 17), applied to Gilgames. The translation of *ia-u* proposed by Jensen, namely, "woeful," is still the most probable. Elsewhere Gilgames is described as showing plainly the effects of his great efforts and struggles.

³ For summaries of the evidence and appraisal of the value of the individual occurrences see A. H. Sayce, "The Name of Jeho, Jahveh," *Expository Times*, vol. xviii, No. 1, Oct., 1906, pp. 26ff., and A. H. Sayce, "The Name יהוה," *Expository Times*, vol. xix, No. 11, Aug., 1908, pp. 525, 526.

2ff.) assume that it was revealed first to Moses and by him to the people. This, of course, does not mean that the God himself was unknown to the ancestors of Moses; indeed, the very earliest sources see in Jahweh the God of the ancestors of Israel. But Moses is the founder, the real founder of Israel's religion, and with him begins the building up of that great series of thoughts about this God which have given all human thinking a new channel.¹ There are good reasons for believing that among the Kenites Jahweh was a God of high rank, and among them Moses had residence, and all that they had to witness of this God must have passed before him; but it was no mere local God that Moses introduced in power to Israel. From the very beginning he is a God able to put others beneath his feet.²

¹ On the name Jahweh see further the very able article by Driver, which is by no means superseded, in *Studia Biblica*, i (1885), and the same author's *Book of Genesis* (London, 1904), pp. 407, 409; Kautzsch, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, art. "Names," §§ 109-113, and the same writer in Hastings's *Bible Dictionary*, Extra Volume, pp. 625ff.

² The whole question of Israel's witness to Jahweh in the earliest time is ably handled by Marti in a paper of great suggestiveness ("Jahwe und seine Auffassung in der ältesten Zeit," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1908, pp. 322-333), with most of which I find myself in complete agreement. I must here quote a paragraph in which I am happy to find a strong support for some things which I have earnestly defended above. After asking how it happens that Jahweh becomes to the Hebrews a quite different God from that which he had been to other peoples, Marti proceeds thus: "Ich denke dabei an die Tätigkeit und den Einfluss einer prophetischen Gestalt (etwa Mose). Jedenfalls aber möchte ich es durchaus ablehnen, dass dazu irgendwie der imaginäre altorientalische Monotheismus mitgewirkt habe. Soweit ich sehen kann, finde ich diesen Monotheismus des alten Orients nur in der Phantasie einiger moderner Gelehrten, aber nirgends in den Kulturzen-

At first sight this may seem like a startling robbery of Israel, this taking away from her the divine name Jahweh as an exclusive possession. But it is not so. Jahweh himself is not taken away. He remains the priceless possession, the chief glory of Israel. It is only the *name* that is shown to be widespread. And the *name* matters little. The great question is, what does this name convey?—what is its theological content?¹ The *name* came to Israel from the outside. But into that vessel a long line of prophets, from Moses onward, poured such a flood of attributes as never a priest in all Western Asia, from Babylonia to the Sea, ever dreamed of in his highest moments of spiritual insight. In this name, and through Israel's history, God chose to reveal himself to Israel and by Israel to the world. Therein lies the supreme and lonesome superiority of Israel over Babylonia.

During all those centuries from the dawn of human history until the fall of Babylon in 538 B.C., polytheism, crass polytheism, had reigned supreme in Babylonia and Assyria. But in the little land of Israel monotheism struggled up

tren und Priesterkreisen des vorderen Orients. Zudem hat es die babylonisch—assyrische Religion ihr Leben lang nie zu einem wirklichen Monotheismus, der diesen Namen verdiente, gebracht und ist auch der Gott Israels am Anfang, so sehr er eine der Dämonen und andere göttliche Mächte überragende Bedeutung besass, noch lange nicht der *eine Gott* gewesen."—*Op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹ See the sane and convincing remarks of Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, p. 409. London, 1904.

through great and sore tribulations and at length mastered the people, and through their witness now marches on to possess the minds of all men. Marduk in Babylon and Ashur in Nineveh had little gleams of an ethical message now and again, but there was no power in it. But the Hebrew people seize one name, even the name Jau, and in their hands it becomes a living and ethical power, growing and increasing until Jesus, greatest of the prophets, completed the message of his predecessors.

LECTURE III

THE COSMOLOGIES

THE beginnings of things possess a deep interest for all men. The modern man, with centuries of speculation and other centuries of scientific research stretching far away behind him, feels deeply this call to know whence came the earth with all its beauty of form and color, this sky glorious with sun and moon and stars, this marvelously balanced and almost infinitely varied fauna and flora, this great human race so unlike to the eye, yet so deeply alike in its greater qualities. What a mystery it all is, and how profoundly we are stirred as we reflect even superficially upon that moving question, Whence came all this? But if modern man, with his poor little accumulations of past civilization, with his little sum of scientific knowledge that seems so great when he contemplates it by itself, but looks so small when compared with the vast numbers of mysteries still unexplained—if modern man feels the longing to know, to know whence and how, so also did ancient man with his fresh and vigorous mind in a world new and stretching out beyond his ken, far more than it seems now to do. And if civilized man feels the

desire to penetrate the great solemn gray veil that hangs over the beginnings of things, so also did the barbarous, nay, even the savage peoples whom we see dimly in the distance, on the edge of great trackless deserts, and in the river valleys.

There is no people of antiquity now known to us which does not possess a creation story of some kind. Some of these are grotesque, while others rise to heights of poetic beauty. Of them all the most interesting and by far the most important in its bearing upon the Old Testament is the Babylonian story of the creation. Before we come to its close study we may well give a word to the story of its discovery and decipherment.

The tenth day of May in the year 1840 was a day of great moment in the history of Assyriology, for on that day Austen Henry Layard, who was making an overland journey to India, first saw the big mounds on the opposite bank of the Tigris from the little city of Mosul. It was then that he wrote the memorable words, "My curiosity had been greatly excited, and from that time I formed the design of thoroughly examining, whenever it might be in my power, those singular ruins." It was five years before he could fulfill that dream, and then it was the mound of Nimroud, the ancient city of Calah, where he began excavations. Both there and at Kuyunjik he had splendid success, and restored

to the astonished eyes of this modern world many a splendid piece of ancient sculpture and many a written record of Assyrian kings. It was while he was thus engaged that he discovered a young Oriental named Hormuzd Rassam, whom he attached to his company of helpers, and long afterward referred to as "my faithful and invaluable friend and assistant." Trained by a master, Rassam went out to the mound of Kuyunjik in 1852, and there at the end of the next year he discovered the palace of Ashurbanipal, the last of the great Assyrian kings, and from the walls of one room stripped away the magnificent lion-hunt sculptures, which to-day adorn the British Museum, London. In that room, piled in heaps and masses, lay hundreds of inscribed tablets that once were the pride and the treasures of the library of Ashurbanipal. These books he had caused to be copied, and then laid away to be read to him when he desired. He boasted of his love for books in the almost plaintive phrase, "I have a large ear for books," and all over Babylonia his agents had gone collecting tablets to be taken to Nineveh and copied. There the beautifully wrought copies were carefully preserved, while the originals went back to their ancient homes in Nippur or Eridu or Ur.

The library which Rassam had thus restored to the world was carried away to London, and from its masses of material the historical in-

scriptions were first searched out and published. Again and again they were all sorted over and examined by Sir Henry Rawlinson, by Professor A. H. Sayce, and by others, but it was reserved for the keen eyes of George Smith to pick out some little broken fragments and upon them laboriously trace out the Babylonian story of creation. He made his first announcement of the great discovery in the *Daily Telegraph* on March 4, 1875, and in that same year, on November 2, read a brilliant paper before the Society of Biblical Archæology describing the fragmentary tablets, translating portions of them, and pointing out the curious and interesting parallels with the Old Testament. That was a wonderful piece of work. He made, indeed, certain identifications that later research has not justified, such as finding in it allusions to the fall of man, but in the main he came so close to the correct meaning, as later investigation has revealed it, that we can only be astonished at his acumen and insight. Since his day many scholars, working in divers places, have contributed in large and small ways to the translation and elucidation—to mention their names would be to call the roll of the masters among Assyriologists. It will serve to mention those who have made perhaps the most signal contributions to the study of this great text.

The first broad discussion of the creation tablets was given by Professor Sayce, of Oxford,

so often a pioneer, in his Hibbert Lectures in 1887,¹ and in 1888² he made a complete translation of all the fragments which had then been found. They were all translated again and provided with many valuable notes in 1890 by Professor Jensen,³ of the University of Marburg. This was followed in 1895 by a new and improved translation by Professor Zimmern,⁴ of the University of Leipzig, and in the very next year Professor Delitzsch,⁵ of the University of Berlin, translated again the whole story, to be followed in 1900 and 1901 by a new complete translation and commentary by Professor Jensen.⁶ The capstone upon the whole work was placed in 1902 by Dr. L. W. King,⁷ of the British Museum. Up to that time only twenty-one fragments had been known and translated. To these King added no less than twenty-eight

¹ Sayce, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians* (Hibbert Lectures for 1887), pp. 397ff.

² *Records of the Past*, New Series, i, pp. 122ff.

³ Peter Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 263ff.

⁴ Heinrich Zimmern, in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, pp. 401ff.

⁵ Friedrich Delitzsch, "Das Babylonische Weltschöpfungsepos," *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, xvii, No. ii, and also published separately.

⁶ Peter Jensen, *Assyrisch-Babylonische Mythen und Epen* (Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, v), in two parts, the first containing transliterations and translations, the second the commentary.

⁷ L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation; or, The Babylonian and Assyrian Legends concerning the Creation of the World and of Mankind*. 2 vols. London, 1902.

fragments previously unknown, and then translated the whole forty-nine in a masterly fashion. Upon this edition all new progress must build for many days to come.

And now let us come a little closer to this wonderful ancient story. The Assyrian poem, as it has come down to us, is fragmentary indeed, but enough remains to show us its original content. It was called by the Assyrians *Enuma elish*, "when above," or "when in the height," these being the two Assyrian words with which the text begins. According to the careful enumeration and calculations of King it consisted of nine hundred and ninety-four lines, and these were divided into seven sections, each section being inscribed upon a separate tablet and each tablet being numbered in order. "The shortest tablet contains one hundred and thirty-eight lines, and the longest one hundred and forty-six, the average length of a tablet being about one hundred and forty-two lines."¹

The story begins with a primeval chaos of waters in which lived the water gods Apsu and Tiamat. From these sprang other gods, and two of the later gods, named Ea and Marduk, finally overthrew Apsu and Tiamat; while Marduk, when his victory was complete, created earth and man. Our copy of it was made, for the most part, for the library of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.), but some of the fragments were

¹ King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, i, p. xxv. London, 1902.

written out in the Neo-Babylonian (625–538 B.C.) and in the Persian period (538–330 B.C.), and one may even belong to the period of the Arsacidæ (250 B.C.). But these dates of the actual copying out of the tablets which have been preserved to our day give no idea of the date of the composition of the story itself, and to that we must now give attention.

The story in its present form is clearly of composite character,¹ and it is easy to see as we read it that it bears traces of a long period of editing and compiling. King distinguishes, and I believe rightly, no less than five principal strands, woven together to make the complete tapestry picture. These are: (1) The Birth of the Gods, (2) The Legend of Ea and Apsu, (3) The Dragon Myth, (4) The Actual Account of Creation, and (5) The Hymn to Marduk under his fifty titles.

Now, the very first thing to notice about its present form is that it is compiled not to honor the chief god of Assyria, who was Ashur, but rather to give the highest rank among all the gods to Marduk, the god of Babylon. This makes it quite clear that the story is Babylonian and not Assyrian. And now, if we analyze the story a little more closely, following King's enumeration of the original strands, we can see that (a) the dragon myth existed in other forms, in which other gods than Marduk were the heroes; (b) the creation story also existed in

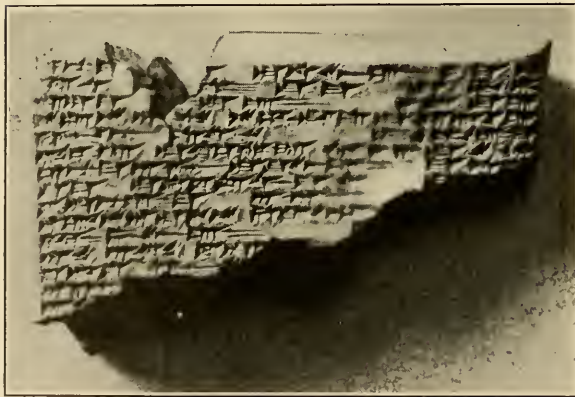
¹ So King, *op. cit.*, pp. lxvi ff.

other forms, in one of which the creation is not connected with the death of a dragon; and (c) the hymn to Marduk can be clearly shown to have existed quite separately from the creation narrative.

And now, before we plunge into the reading of the poem itself, we may well give heed to one more question, and that a question of moving interest, the answer to which will project its influence far over the poem, and confront us when we attempt to attack a still greater problem. This question is, How old are these creation legends—to what period do they go back in their origins? Step by step we can trace them back into the distant centuries. (a) When Ashurnazirpal was king of Assyria (884–860 B.C.) he set up two great limestone slabs on which are found representations of the conflict between Marduk and Tiamat. So the creation legends go back into the ninth century, two centuries older than their present form. But (b) we can take a much more distant flight than this, for a Babylonian king, Agum, who reigned not later than the seventeenth century before Christ, set up in the temple of E-sagila at Babylon figures of dragons and other monsters which undoubtedly portray Tiamat and her foul brood, and thus this feature of the story is carried a thousand years beyond the great Assyrian monarch. A still greater age is assured by (c) the recovery of numerous



OBVERSE



REVERSE

FIGURE V.—FRAGMENT OF THE FIRST TABLET OF CREATION
British Museum, K. 5419 C
Size of the original, $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches

legends of the same type relating to Adapa, to Ea and Atrakhasis, and to Etana which belong to the period of 2000 B.C. To this period, the period which precedes and includes the elevation of Babylon to be the chief city of Babylonia—to this period must be ascribed the origin and composition of the creation stories. An antiquity so great as this adds a new interest to the story which is now to be translated and accompanied by such comment as may make its meaning clear.

THE FIRST TABLET

When above the heaven was not named
And beneath the earth bore no name,

This means when there was neither heaven nor earth, for to the Semite a thing which had no name had no existence.

And the primeval Apsu, who begat them,
And Mummu¹-Tiamat, the mother of them all,—

Here are two beings, the male god Apsu and the goddess Tiamat; the beings mentioned under the phrase "mother of them all" are the ill brood of monsters afterward called into ex-

¹ The use of "Mummu" here is extremely difficult and the signification doubtful. Below Mummu appears as a third person (see line 30), as a messenger; but in this passage there is no connective between Mummu and Tiamat, and if we assume here that Mummu is the name of this messenger the passage becomes very hard syntactically, if not indeed impossible. I am uncertain as to the meaning, and for the present leave it stand as Mummu-Tiamat, as though the "Mummu" were merely some sort of title or appellative. It is often translated "chaos Tiamat"; so *King*.

istence by Tiamat when the great conflict begins.

- 5 Their waters were mingled together,
 And no reed¹ was formed, no marsh seen,
 When no one of the gods had been called into being,
 (And) none bore a name, and no destinies [were fixed].
 Then were created the gods in the midst of [heaven],
- 10 Lakhmu and Lakhamu were called into existence
 Ages increased
 Anshar and Kishar were created, and over them . . .
 Long were the days, then came there forth
 Anu their son²

These two beings Lakhmu and Lakhamu appear later in the story as fighting on the side of Tiamat, but Anshar and Kishar are the first of the gods to come into existence, the former

¹ The meaning of *gipara*, here translated "reed," is doubtful. It is usually rendered "field," but Sayce is probably right in connecting it with Aramaic קפיר, Greek πίνυρος. Delitzsch translates "Gefilde"; Bezold (*Babylonisch-Assyrische Texte. I. Die Schöpfungslegende*, Bonn, 1904), doubtfully, "Feld." King translates "field," but in the glossary writes, "*giparu*, 'field'(?), or possibly a kind of tree."

² In the original text the lines were divided by a cæsura into half lines. The proof of this is abundant, and many lines are thus broken by express indications in the Assyrian text. In the translations by Delitzsch and by Zimmer the lines are also thus divided. I have not followed their example for the reason that to do so involves inversions in the English order in many places, or artificial expedients in the translation which give a false impression to the English reader. For the purpose of these lectures I am much more concerned to represent the *thought* of the poem than its *form*. The reader who has an eye and an ear for verse will in many places in my translation be able to discern the cæsura. There would be loss and not gain for all others in any attempt to separate the lines into two parts. In neglecting the cæsura I have also the excellent example of King, to whose translation I owe much in many ways, and also of Bezold, from whom also I have derived useful assistance. Zimmer insists strongly upon the importance of the cæsura, and has unfavorably criticized translations of Assyrian poetry in which it was disregarded. But it is easier to represent it in German than in English.

representing the heavenly and the latter the earthly part of the universe. From these there proceed, like emanations, the gods Anu and Ea, the latter under the name of Nudimud, who is said to be "abounding in all wisdom" and "exceeding strong." Now, Anu is the head of the great triad, Anu, Ellil, and Ea, and as the first and third are here mentioned it is quite likely that the second was also originally named. But Ellil (or Bel) was afterward eliminated from this story in order to lay all the emphasis upon Marduk, the god of Babylon.

And now there arises a conflict between Apsu and Tiamat, the representatives of chaos and disorder, on the one side, and the gods Anu and Ea, the representatives of order and cosmos, on the other. The story runs on thus:

But [Tiamat and Apsu] were still in confusion,
They were troubled and
In confusion.

- 25 Apsu was not diminished
And Tiamat roared
They all smote¹
Their way was not good, they
Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods,
30 Summoned Mummu, his messenger, and said unto
him,
"O Mummu, messenger that rejoicest my heart,
Come, let us go unto Tiamat."
They went and before Tiamat they lay down,

¹ King translates, "She smote, and their deeds." But for an interesting suggestion see Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, p. 7. Paris, 1907.

They consulted on a plan concerning the gods, their sons.

This passage makes it clear enough that Apsu was conceived as the male principle and Tiamat the female, and that from these had come originally the gods. And now Apsu and Tiamat are angry at their own progeny, and it is not perfectly clear what the cause of the anger was, but perhaps the best suggestion thus far offered is that they were simply enraged at the progress made by the gods in bringing order out of chaos. There would be no peace and no resting place for them when Cosmos had displaced Chaos.

- 35 Apsu opened his mouth and said to her,
 And unto Tiamat, the brilliant, he spake a word:
 “. their way
 By day I cannot rest, I cannot lie down by night,
 I will destroy their way, I will [disperse them]
- 40 That the clamor may cease, that we may lie down.”
 When Tiamat [heard] these words,
 She was furious, and cried for
 She went into a terrible anger,
 She conceived evil in her heart:
- 45 “All that which we have made we will destroy.
 Let their way be full of wretchedness, and let us lie down.”
 Mummu answered, and gave counsel unto Apsu—
 A hostile counsel was the counsel of Mummu:
 “Come, their way is strong, but destroy thou it.
- 50 So shalt thou have rest by day, by night thou shalt
 lie down.”

The issue was now joined, and on behalf of the gods Ea took up the dreadful contest, and in

some way Anu is associated with him. At this point the tablets are so fragmentary that we cannot follow the story with perfect certainty, but it is clear that Ea prevailed, destroyed Apsu and captured Mummu. How this was accomplished we do not certainly know, but it would appear that Ea overwhelmed them both, not by violence, but by a "pure incantation."¹

Tiamat was unconquered and in confusion, and then is urged on by a "bright god" who is probably Kingu. Upon this a new conflict begins. It seems quite probable that the passage which follows is a doublet. The first, which honors Ea, by making him the hero, is now succeeded by the second, in which Marduk is the hero. But Marduk was not probably the original hero of this section. It was the elder Bel, the god of Nippur, whose original name was En-lil, or Ellil. Marduk has simply displaced him and assumed his position of honor. We shall do well to note this particularly, for we shall later be called on to see how Marduk was displaced in turn by another and much greater god.² Let us now resume the story:

¹ This is not quite certain, but line 60 runs thus:

"Then went up Ea, who knoweth all things, and beheld their designs."

Line 61 has disappeared altogether, and then in line 62 we have:

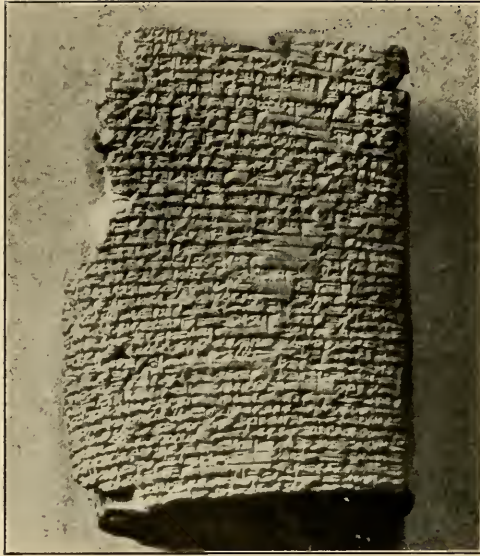
" to make his pure incantation,"

which seems at least to suggest that this was his weapon, especially as in the fragmentary lines that remain there appear no hints of any other weapons, such, for example, as are so elaborately described below when Marduk is engaged.

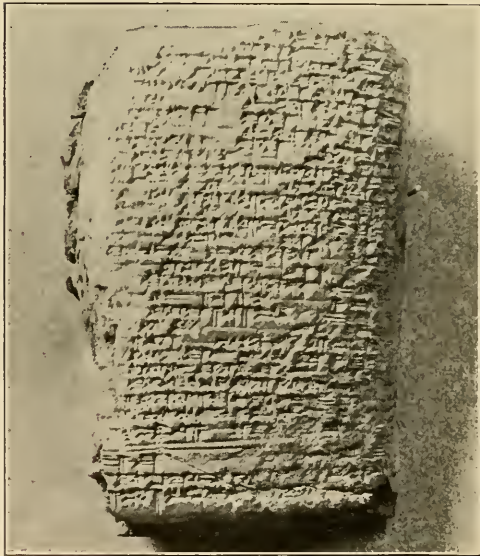
² See p. 134.

- They cursed the day, and at the side of Tiamat
advanced,
- 110 They were furious, they devised mischief night and
day without rest.
They take up the combat, they devastate, they rage.
They join their forces, they organize battle.
[Ummu-Khubur] [that is, Tiamat], who formed all
things,
Made also weapons invincible, she spawned monster
serpents,
- 115 Sharp, of tooth and merciless in carnage;
[With venom instead of] blood she filled [their]
bodies.
Terrible dragons she clothed with terror,
With splendor she decked them, she made them of
lofty appearance.
Whoever beheld them, terror overcame him,
- 120 Their bodies reared up and none could withstand
their attack.
She set up serpents, and reptiles, and the monster
Lakhamu,
And hurricanes and furious dogs, and scorpion men
And mighty tempests, and fish men and [rams];
They bore pitiless weapons, fearless of the fight.
- 125 [Puissant] were her orders, [none] could resist them.
In all, eleven monsters of this kind, she created.
Among the gods who were her firstborn, who formed
her troop,
She exalted Kingu; among them she made him great.
To march before the troops, to lead the throng,
- 130 To seize the weapons,¹ to advance, to begin the
attack,
The primacy in the combat, the control of the fight
She intrusted to him, in costly raiment she made him
sit.

¹ "To give the battle signal."—*King*.



OBVERSE



REVERSE

FIGURE VI.—THE SECOND TABLET OF CREATION
British Museum, No. 40,559

"I have uttered the spell, in the assembly of the
 gods I have made thee Lord,
 The lordship over all the gods I have intrusted to
 thee.

135 Be thou exalted, thou mine only spouse.

May the Anunnaki exalt thy name over all."

She gave him the tablets of destiny, on his breast she
 placed them.

"Thy command shall not fail, the word of thy mouth
 shall be established."

When Kingu was exalted, and had received the
 power of Anu,

140 He decreed destiny among the gods his sons, (saying:)

"The opening of your mouth shall quench the fire
 god,

The strong in combat shall increase his strength."

Here ends the first tablet, ends in chaos, and
 wild threats and inhuman passions, and strange
 monsters and mighty forces of disorder. The
 picture is made exceedingly somber, to throw
 into higher light and more impressive relief the
 splendid beauty and order of the world, which
 Marduk's power and wisdom perfected.

The second tablet begins with a description
 of the helplessness of the other gods until Mar-
 duk accepts the challenge and enters the lists.

THE SECOND TABLET

Tiamat made strong her work,

Evil she devised among the gods her children.

To avenge Apsu, Tiamat planned evil,

And how she had collected her army, the god told Ea.

5 Ea listened to this word, and

He was sadly afflicted and sat in sorrow.

The days went by, and his anger was appeased,
And to the place of Anshar, his father, he made his
way.

He went before Anshar, the father who begat him,
10 All that Tiamat had planned, he announced to him:
"Tiamat, our mother, has conceived a hatred against
us,
An assembly has she made, she rages in anger.
All the gods have turned to her,
Even those whom ye have created march at her side,
15 They have cursed the day, they advance at Tiamat's
side.

And now he repeats the passage already cited above, with the lurid description of the monstrous serpents and the wild creatures which Tiamat has "spawned." All this is intended to heighten the difficulty in which the great gods were placed and so to make more evident the greatness of Marduk. The effect of the story upon Anshar is thus recounted:

When Anshar heard that Tiamat was mightily in
revolt¹

50 He smote his loins, he bit his lips,
. within he was not at peace,
His , he sounded a cry.

Ea has conquered Mummu and Apsu, but what can now be done in this far greater difficulty? He appeals to Ea:

Anshar unto his son addressed the word:
". My mighty warrior
Whose power is great, whose onslaught resistless,

¹ The restoration and translation are King's.

75 Go and stand before Tiamat,
 That her spirit may be appeased, her heart calmed.
 But if she hearken not to thy word,
 Then shalt thou speak our message, that she may be
 pacified."

He heard the word of his father Anshar
 80 And turned his face to her, toward her he made his
 way
 And drew nigh, he saw the design of Tiamat
 [But could not endure her presence], he turned back.

Ea, who had vanquished Apsu and captured Mammu, is no match for Tiamat and turns back. Anshar therefore turns to Marduk and tries in every way to encourage him to undertake the perilous conflict. Thus does he address him:

110 "Thou art my son, who openeth wide his heart.
 to the battle shalt thou approach,
 he shall see thee in peace."
 And the lord rejoiced at his father's word,
 And he drew nigh and stood before Anshar.
 115 Anshar looked upon him and his heart was filled
 with joy,
 He kissed his lips and fear departed from him.

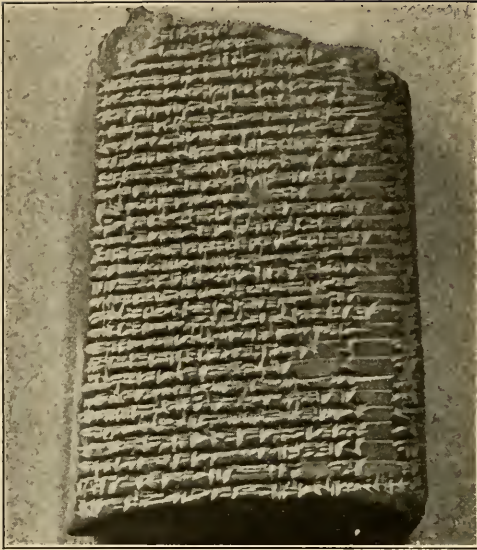
These words and these acts of love are directed to Marduk, to Marduk of Babylon, but there can be no doubt that in the original version the god who was thus honored and encouraged was Ellil, the elder Bel of Nippur. He has been supplanted by the act of the priests of Babylon. Marduk addresses his father in these words:

- “[O my father], let not the word of thy lips be covered,
 O let me accomplish all that is in thy heart,
 [O Anshar], let not the word of thy lips be covered,
 120 O let me accomplish all that is in thy heart.”
 “What man is it,” saith *Anshar*, “that hath brought
 thee to battle?
 Tiamat, who is a woman, attacks thee with
 arms
 rejoice and be glad,
 The neck of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly trample under
 foot.
 125 rejoice and be glad,
 The neck of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly trample under
 foot.
 O my [son], who knowest all wisdom,
 Appease Tiamat with thy pure incantation,¹
 Set out speedily on thy way,
 130 Thy blood shall not be poured out, thou shalt return
 again.”
 The lord rejoiced at his father’s word,
 His heart exulted and he spoke to his father:
 “O Lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods,
 If I, your avenger,
 135 Do enchain Tiamat, and give you life,
 Make an assembly, exalt my destiny.
 In Upshukkinaku seat yourselves joyfully together,
 With my word, in your stead, will I decree destiny.
 That which I do shall remain unchanged,
 140 It shall not be changed, it shall not fail, the word of
 my lips.”

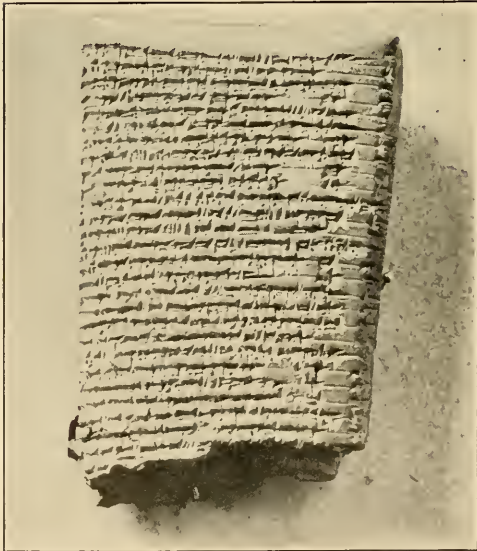
¹ This art of incantation Marduk has received from Ea (compare Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i, p. 295). There is a passage in the Shurpu texts (Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion*, p. 27) in which Ea says to Marduk:

“That which I know, thou shalt know.”

This is, of course, a part of the priestly plan in Babylon to elevate Marduk to the first rank, of which I have spoken repeatedly elsewhere.



OBVERSE



REVERSE

FIGURE VII—THE THIRD TABLET OF CREATION
British Museum, No. 93,017

The tense interest and feeling of the story is relaxed in the third tablet, which is devoted entirely to securing the consent of the gods to Marduk's request for peculiar honors if he should find victory over Tiamat. Perhaps a portion of the tablet ought here to be quoted that our picture of the entire legendary and mythological matter may be complete.

THE THIRD TABLET

Anshar opened his mouth, and
 [Unto Gaga], his [minister], spoke the word:
 ["O Gaga, thou minister] that rejoicest my heart
 [Unto Lakhmu and Lakh]amu will I send thee.
 5 [The order of my heart] thou canst comprehend
 thou shalt bring before me
 let the gods, all of them,
 [Make ready for a feast,]¹ at a banquet let them sit,
 Let them eat bread, let them mix wine,
 10 [For Marduk] their avenger let them decree destiny.
 [Go,] Gaga, stand before them,
 [All that] I say to thee, repeat thou to them, *saying*,
 'Anshar, your son, hath sent me,
 The command of his heart, he hath made me to know.
 15 He saith, that Tiamat, our mother, has conceived a
 hatred against us,
 An assembly has she made, she rages in anger.
 All the gods have turned to her,
 Even those whom ye have created, march at her
 side.' "

Then Anshar repeats again the same passage out of the first tablet in which is described the mon-

¹ All the bracketed restorations in these eight lines are due to King.

strous serpents and all the fearsome, horrid brood that Tiamat has spawned. Lakhmu and Lakhamu, as Jastrow has pointed out, are here in this speech set forth as leaders of the gods called Igigi, who are in the later theology classified as heavenly gods, and also of the Anunnaki, who are the earthly or subterranean gods. And now the story is resumed, after the description of the terrible allies of Tiamat, in these words:

“I have sent Anu, but he could not withstand her presence.

Nudimmud [that is, Ea] was afraid and turned back.

55 But Marduk is ready, the director of the gods, your son;

To set out against Tiamat, his heart has moved him.

He opened his mouth and spoke to me, *saying*,

‘If I, your avenger,

Do enchain Tiamat and give you life,

60 Make an assembly, exalt my destiny.

In Upshukkinaku set yourselves joyfully together.

With my word, in your stead, will I decree destiny.

That which I do shall remain unchanged.

It shall not be changed, it shall not fail, the word of my lips.’

65 Hasten, therefore, and fix quickly your destiny

That he may go and attack your strong enemy!”

Gaga went, he made his way and

Before Lakhmu and Lakhamu, the gods his fathers,

Humbly did he make obeisance, and kissed the ground at their feet,

70 He humbled himself; then he stood up and spake to them, *saying*,

“Anshar your son has sent me,

The purpose of his heart he has made known to me,

He says that Tiamat, our mother, has conceived a hatred against us,
An assembly has she made, she rages in anger."

And now once more do we have repeated the thirty-three lines out of the first tablet containing the description of the demons, beasts, and monsters spawned by Tiamat. The priests who made this compilation were determined to get this grewsome picture fully before the mind and heart of all Babylon's worshipers. To them all, this oft-repeated passage should show from how great misery and danger Marduk had delivered them. Following on this description, Gaga repeats to the gods the demand of Marduk for honors above the other gods. The priests intended also to make plain that Marduk had come to his honors only after the demand had been made perfectly clear and unmistakable. Let us now see what the assembly had to answer to the demands. And first of all the gods must express horror at Tiamat and all her deeds and plans.

- 125 Lakhmu and Lakhamu heard, they cried aloud,
All of the Igigi complained bitterly, *saying*,
"Because of what enmity is it that they
We do not understand the [deed] of Tiamat."
Then they gathered together, they went
- 130 The great gods, all of them, who decree [destiny],
They entered before Anshar, they filled
They kissed one another, in the assembly
They made ready the feast, at the banquet [they sat],
They ate bread, they mingled the wine.

135 The sweet drink made them drunken

By drinking they were drunken, their bodies were filled.

They shouted aloud, their heart was exalted,
Then for Marduk, their avenger, did they decree destiny.

So concludes the third tablet with a company of drunken gods in maudlin amiability prepared to grant all the demands of Marduk. What a contrast do Hebrew conceptions of godhead present to this! We must desire eagerly to be fair, not to say generous, in all our judgments of the religions of mankind, but it were folly not to observe the weakness and degradation of this ancient faith at the same time that we see its beauty and power.

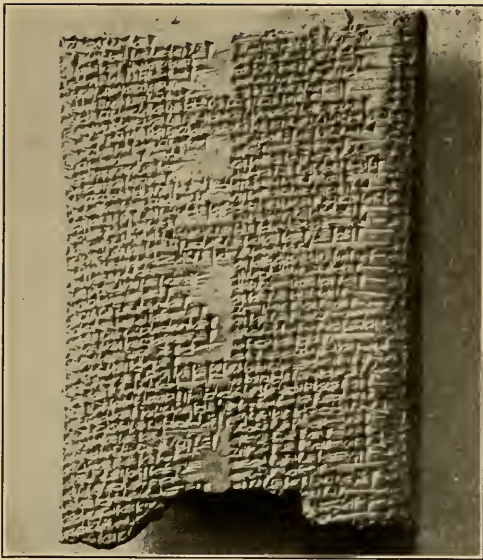
And now begins the fourth tablet, with the drunken gods heaping honors upon Marduk.

THE FOURTH TABLET

They prepared for him a princely seat,
Before his fathers he took his place as sovereign.
"Thou art most honored among the great gods,
Thy destiny is beyond compare, thy command is
Anu.

5 O Marduk, thou art most honored among the great
gods,
Thy destiny is beyond compare, thy command is
Anu.

In all time thy command shall not be changed,
To exalt and to abase lie in thy hand.
Established shall be the word of thy mouth, resistless
thy command,



OBVERSE



REVERSE

FIGURE VIII.—THE FOURTH TABLET OF CREATION
British Museum, No. 93,016

- 10 None among the gods shall transgress thy limits.
 Abundance is the desire of the shrines of the gods,
 In their place shall thy sanctuary be established.
 O Marduk, thou art our avenger.
 We give thee lordship over the whole world.
- 15 Thou shalt take thy seat in the assembly, thy word
 shall be exalted.
 Thy weapon shall not lose its power, it shall break
 in pieces thy foe.
 O lord, spare the life of him that trusteth in thee.
 But, as for the god, who undertook evil, pour out his
 life."

And now a curiously interesting test of Marduk's power is proposed, accepted, and successfully carried out. He is to make a garment disappear and then reappear. It makes one think, superficially, of Gideon's test with the fleece.¹ But here is the description that the poem gives:

- Then they placed among them a garment,
 20 And unto Marduk, their firstborn, they spoke:
 "Thy destiny, O lord, is supreme among the gods,
 To destroy and to create, when thou dost command,
 it shall be fulfilled.
 Thy command shall destroy the garment,
 And if thou dost command, the garment shall be
 intact."
- 25 Then he spoke with his mouth, the garment was destroyed,
 He commanded again, the garment was restored.
 When the gods, his fathers, beheld the efficacy of
 his word
 They rejoiced, they paid homage, "Marduk is king."

¹ Judg. 6. 36-40.

Here is made plain that Marduk is conceived as having Ea's power, the power of the *word*.¹ Ea, the god of wisdom in early times, is the god who has the power of the word. Here is this power taken over by Marduk. And now Marduk must be prepared with all weapons of offense and of defense for the great and terrible conflict.

- They bestowed upon him the scepter, the throne,
the *palu*.²
- 30 They gave him an invincible weapon, which destroys
the enemy.
"Go and cut off the life of Tiamat,
Let the wind carry her blood into secret places.
After the gods his fathers had decreed for the lord
his destiny
They made his way a path of salvation and success.
- 35 He made ready the bow, chose it as his weapon,
He seized a spear, he fastened
He raised the club, in his right hand he grasped it,
The bow and the quiver he hung at his side.
He put the lightning in front of him,
- 40 With flaming fire he filled his body.
He made a net to inclose Tiamat within it.
He set it up at the four winds, that naught of her
might escape,
At the south wind, and the north wind, and the east
wind, and the west wind,
He brought near the net, the gift of his father Anu.
- 45 He created an evil wind, a tempest, and a hurricane,
A fourfold wind, a sevenfold wind, a whirlwind, a
wind beyond compare,

¹ That is, "the pure incantation." See p. 111, note 1.

² *Palu* perhaps signifies ring (King).

He sent forth the winds, which he had created, the
 seven of them,
 To disturb the inner parts of Tiamat, they followed
 after him.

And now we come to the description of the conflict. It is a thousand pities that breaks in some of the lines mar the onward movement of passionate description. What remains belongs to the greatest monuments of the literature of Babylonia and Assyria.

Then the lord took the flood, his mighty weapon,
 50 He mounted the chariot, the storm incomparable, the
 terrible,
 He harnessed four horses and yoked them to it,
 Destructive, pitiless, overwhelming, swift.

Some of the broken lines I now omit; the splendid sweep of the onset is better without them, and nothing essential to the narrative disappears.

With overpowering brightness his head was crowned.
 He took his road, he followed his path.
 60 Toward Tiamat, the raging, he set his face.

Then they beheld him, the gods beheld him,
 The gods his fathers beheld him, the gods beheld him.
 65 And the lord drew nigh, he gazed upon the inward
 parts of Tiamat,
 He perceived the design of Kingu, her spouse.
 As he gazed, he was troubled in his movements,
 His resolution was destroyed, his action was dis-
 ordered,
 And the gods, his helpers, who marched by his side,

- 70 Beheld their leader's their vision was troubled.
 But Tiamat uttered [a cry], she turned not her neck,
 With full lips, she held fast rebellion.

She utters some taunt, not fully preserved for us, and—

- 75 Then the lord raised the flood, his mighty weapon,
 And against Tiamat, who was raging, he sent it with
 the words:

“Thou hast made thyself great, thou hast exalted
 thyself on high,
 And thy heart has moved thee to call to battle

- 80
 Thou hast exalted Kingu to be thy spouse,
 Thou hast him, to issue decrees like Anu,
 thou hast followed after evil,
 And against the gods my fathers thou hast wrought
 evil

- 85 When thou hast prepared thy army, hast girded on
 thy weapons,
 Come on, I and thou, let us join battle.”
 When Tiamat heard these words,
 She was beside herself, she lost her reason,
 Tiamat cried wild and loudly,

- 90 She trembled, she shook to her foundations,
 She recited an incantation, she uttered her spell,
 And the gods of the battle cried for their weapons.
 Then advanced Tiamat and Marduk, counselor of
 the gods;
 To the combat they marched, they drew nigh to
 battle,

- 95 The lord spread out his net and caught her,
 The storm wind that was behind *him*, he let loose in
 her face.
 When Tiamat opened her mouth to its widest

He drove in the evil wind, that she could not close
her lips.

The terrible winds filled her belly,

100 And her heart was taken from her, and her mouth
she opened wide.

He seized the spear and tore her belly,

He cut her inward parts, he pierced her heart.

He made her powerless, he destroyed her life;

He cast down her body and stood upon it.

105 When he had slain Tiamat, the leader,

Her power was broken, her army was scattered.

And the gods, her helpers, who marched at her side,

Trembled and were afraid and turned back.

They broke away to save their lives,

110 But they were surrounded, they could not escape.

He took them captive, he broke their weapons,

In the net they are cast down, they sat down,

The of the world they fill with cries of sorrow.

And so Tiamat is utterly overcome, and all the
terrible monsters so often described are wholly
ruined with her.

And Kingu, who had been exalted over them,

120 He conquered, and with the god Dugga he counted
him,

He took from him the tablets of destiny, which be-
longed not to him,

He sealed them with a seal and laid them in his own
breast.

Thereby he gave a token that the right of de-
termining destiny was now to be in the hand
of Marduk, god of Babylon. And now we are
drawing close to the real story toward which
our eyes have been turned from the beginning.

We have come a long course through these fields of mythology; we are now on the very verge of learning how Marduk created the world.

- After he had conquered and cast down his enemies,
 And had beaten down the insolent enemy,
 125 And had fully established Anshar's victory over the enemy,
 And had attained the will of Nudimmud,
 And over the captive gods had made the prison fast,
 Then he turned back to Tiamat, whom he had conquered,
 And the lord stood upon the hinder parts of Tiamat,
 130 With his merciless club he broke her skull.
 He cut through the channels of her blood,
 And he made the North wind bear it away to secret places.
 His fathers saw, and they rejoiced and were glad,
 Presents and gifts they brought unto him.
 135 Then the lord rested, he looked upon her dead body,
 As he divided the flesh of the he devised a cunning plan.
 He split her open like a flat fish into two halves;
 One half of her he established as a covering for heaven.
 He fixed a bolt, he stationed a watchman.
 140 He commanded them not to let her waters come forth.
 He passed through the heavens, he considered its regions,
 And over against the Deep, he placed the dwelling of Nudimmud,
 And the lord measured the construction of the Deep,
 And he founded E-sharra, a mansion like unto it.
 145 The mansion E-sharra which he built like heaven,
 He caused Anu, Bel, and Ea to inhabit in their districts

Here have we the account of the making of the big blue vault which still stretches above our head. It is made of one half of the carcass of Tiamat, flattened like a flat fish. This is conceived as a great solid body—a firmament, whose chief purpose is to retain the great mass of waters of the heavenly ocean. A watchman stands guard at the door which bolts in “the waters that were above the heavens.” In this heaven Marduk builds a mansion, E-sharra, and there Anu and Bel have their assigned place, while corresponding to that in the great watery world Ea has his place, and chaos is gone forever.

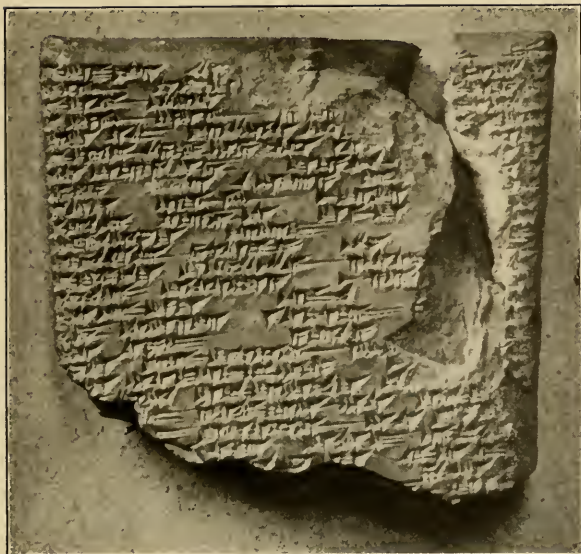
The fifth tablet begins with the creation of the great heavenly bodies, but is so sadly fragmentary that we can have little satisfaction in it. By the irony of fate, it seems to be the tablet which we should most have liked to have complete, for in it there was most probably the account of the creation of vegetation and of the animal world. It would be of surpassing interest to know what the Babylonian priests had to tell of the origin of earth and its green carpet and its wondrous company of beasts and birds. But all this has been lost out of the narrative, and we shall have to wait and hope that some day and somewhere a duplicate of the fifth tablet may be found to supply this great lack. To-day it is possible only to give a little piece of this tablet, which tells of the heavenly bodies.

THE FIFTH TABLET

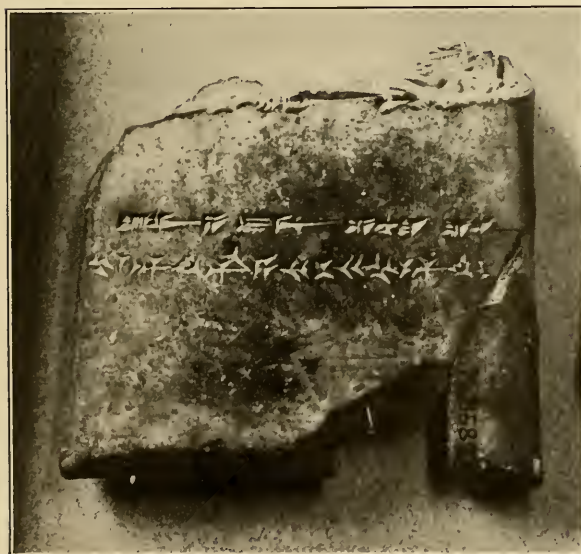
- He [that is, Marduk] made the stations for the great gods;
 The stars, like them, as the *lumashi*¹ he fixed.
 He ordained the year, he marked off its sections,
 For the twelve months he fixed three stars.
- 5 After he had fashioned images for the days of the year,
 He founded the station of Nibir [that is, Jupiter], to determine their bounds;
 That none might err or go astray,
 He set the station of Bel and Ea by his side.
 He opened gates on both sides,
- 10 He made strong the bolt on the left and on the right,
 In the midst thereof he fixed the zenith;
 The moon god he caused to shine forth, to him confided the night.
 He appointed him a being of the night, to determine the days;
 Every month, without ceasing, like a crown he made him, *saying*,
- 15 "At the beginning of the month, when thou shinest on the land
 Thou shalt show the horns, to determine six days,
 And on the seventh day thou shalt divide the crown in two.
 On the fourteenth day, thou shalt reach the half . . .

The rest of the tablet is too broken to be intel-

¹ The word *lumashi* in the astronomical texts designates a series of seven stars. There is a very pretty controversy as to the meaning and identification of these stars. Oppert translates *spheres*; Sayce, "twin stars, literally, twin oxen," and explains that "seven of them were reckoned." Zimmern says that they were not identical with the signs of the Zodiac. Delitzsch does not commit himself, and King translates "Zodiac." Jeremias in *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, p. 27, translates it *Tierkreisbilder*, while in his later brochure (*Das Alter*



OBVERSE



REVERSE

FIGURE IX.—THE FIFTH TABLET OF CREATION

British Museum

Size of the original, $2\frac{3}{8}$ by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches



OBVERSE



REVERSE

FIGURE X.--THE SIXTH TABLET OF CREATION
British Museum, No. 92,629

ligible, save for a few lines which are not important for our purpose.

And now we come to the creation of man, which is ascribed to the desire of the gods to have worshipers. It is Marduk also who is the creator of men.

THE SIXTH TABLET

When Marduk heard the word of the gods,
His heart moved him and he devised a cunning plan.
He opened his mouth and unto Ea he spoke,
That which he had conceived in his heart, he made
known unto him:

5 "My blood will I take and bone will I fashion,
I shall make man that man may
I shall create man who shall inhabit [the earth],
Let the worship of the gods be established, let their
shrines be [built].

But I shall transform the ways of the gods, and I
shall change their paths.

10 Together shall they be honored, and unto evil shall
[they]

The rest of the tablet is broken and lost, save for a few lines at the end in which the gods receive the victorious Marduk.

The seventh tablet is wholly given up to the honoring and worshiping of Marduk by gods and men alike. It begins thus:

der babylonischen Astronomie, p. 28) he renders *Mashigestirne*. This illustrates the doubtfulness of the word itself, and shows how uncertain is the whole astrological scheme of Winckler and Jeremias. It is a small point, indeed, but an instructive one.

THE SEVENTH TABLE

O Asari, Bestower of fruitfulness, [Founder of agriculture],

Thou who didst create grain and plants, who caused [the green herb to spring up],

Then come lines in which he is hailed as the one who sets forth the decrees of Anu, Bel, and Ea, that is, he has been promoted to the places which they have occupied:

14 No one among the gods can rival him

18 Never shall his deeds be forgotten among men

112 He conquered Tiamat, he troubled and ended her life.

In the future of mankind, in the aged days,

May this be heard without ceasing, may it endure forever.

115 Since he created the heaven and made the earth,
"The Lord of the world," his father Bel called his name.

The names which all the Igigi did name,

Ea heard and his heart was rejoiced [and he said]:

"He whose name his fathers have magnified

120 Shall be even as I, his name shall be Ea.

The whole of my orders shall he control,

The whole of my commands shall he pronounce!"

By the name of Fifty did the great gods

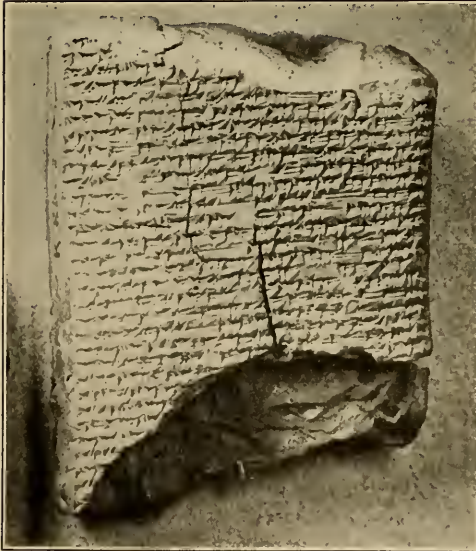
Make known his fifty names, they made his path lofty.

125 Let them be held in remembrance, and let the first man make them known.

The wise and the understanding shall consider them together,



OBVERSE



REVERSE

FIGURE XI.—THE SEVENTH TABLET OF CREATION
British Museum, K. 8522
Size of the original, $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches

The father shall repeat them and teach them to his son;

They shall be in the ear of the shepherd and the sheep driver.

Let man rejoice in Marduk, the lord of the gods,

130 That he may make his land fertile, and that he may have prosperity.

His word is established, his command is unchangeable

The word of his mouth, no god hath annulled.

When he looketh in anger, he turns not his neck;

When he is wroth, no god can face his indignation.

135 Wide is his heart, broad is his compassion;

The sinner and the evil doer in his presence

They received instruction, they spoke before him

.

And so the last words are broken off and we hear no more of Marduk's glories. So ends the great Babylonian story of the creation, enshrined in a long series of myths, built up and edited and changed so that the elder gods of an ancient folk might give way before the rising Marduk, whose people were daily waxing greater. It is in a sense a great political treatise, yet also is it religious. The hearts of men yearned over these things; we can feel, if we have a bit of that spiritual consciousness that never wholly leaves the world, the throb of a spiritual struggle after God, and not merely an ignoble strife after post and preference for a deity. In the ultimate issue man is represented as created in order that he may worship the gods; so did the Babylonians recognize man's

insatiable thirst for worship, man's yearning for a tie to bind him back to God, man's unconquerable will to be religious. And it seems often enough in human history as though the theory of these old Babylonian priests was not so irrational, but as wise as many a more boastful philosophical or theological hypothesis concerning man's nature.

We have been dealing with this great creation story as Babylonian in origin; we have been thinking of its present form as an expression of the religious faith and the theological thinking of Babylon. But we must take a far wider view than this. Every day that passes makes it more plain that the Babylonians influenced their neighbors, as, indeed, all peoples have done and are ever doing. And even though we deny the modern theory, now widely though happily not universally accepted, which finds in Babylon the origins of nearly every idea or custom, whether of political, social, or religious life, yet nevertheless this fact does remain indisputable, that Babylonian ideas did find wide currency in the ancient world. Just as that cumbrous script, invented by Sumerians, improved here and there by Semites, swept far and near to be used by Chaldeans, Elamites, and others wherewith to write diverse languages, so the baggage of many Babylonian thinkers went traveling over deserts on camel-back even to the blue waters of the Mediterranean.

It would be surprising indeed if some of these speculations did not come into the ears of the prophets, poets, and wise men of Israel. But they did come, and it is well worth while to inquire how they were received, and how the Hebrews were able to use their life and color as media for the conveying of a far greater spiritual message. At first blush we might expect to find the most patent influence of this Babylonian creation story in the Hebrew creation stories in the book of Genesis, but exactly the opposite is the case. The prophets and poets it is who show us most clearly the echoes of Babylonian religion and mythology amid the limestone hills of Palestine. We shall do well to examine at least a few passages in which are to be discerned these same Babylonian thoughts as have just passed in stately review before us. Here is a passage in the Psalter in which we can discern quite plainly the influence of the Babylonian creation story:¹

O Jehovah God of hosts,
Who is a mighty one, like unto thee, O Jehovah?

¹ The credit of first discussing some of these interesting parallels belongs to Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen. 1 und Ap. Joh. 12*, von Hermann Gunkel. Mit Beiträgen von Heinrich Zimmern. Göttingen, 1895), whose book has been extraordinarily fruitful. The following may also be compared: Zimmern, *Biblische und babylonische Urgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1901, translated into English under the title, *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*. London, 1901. See further W. O. E. Oesterly, *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea*. London and New York, 1908. This is a very suggestive book, and came first to my hands after these lectures were in type.

And thy faithfulness is round about thee.
 Thou rulest the pride of the sea:
 When the waves thereof arise, thou stillest them.
 Thou hast broken Rahab in pieces, as one that is slain;
 Thou hast scattered thine enemies with the arm of thy
 strength.

The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine:
 The world and the fullness thereof, thou hast founded
 them.

The north and the south, thou hast created them.

(Psa. 89. 8-12.)

This poet has heard of Tiamat and her story. Here Tiamat is called Rahab, and it is not Marduk, but Jehovah, who has slain her. Just as the elder Bel, or Ellil, was displaced, as we have seen by Marduk, so here Marduk is displaced by Jehovah. He has "broken Rahab in pieces"—nay, more, he has scattered his enemies, that is, the helpers of Rahab. And then, *then*, after he has defeated Rahab, he creates the world. It is certainly the Babylonian Tiamat and Marduk story which this poet has in his mind and is using poetically to glorify Jehovah. And be it observed he is following exactly the same order of progression as we have just seen in the Babylonian story—first the conflict, then the creation.

The great poet, the supremely great poet, who wrote the book of Job also knows of these myths and knows well how to use them. Hear him as he describes the mighty works of Jehovah:

He stirreth up the sea with his power,
 And by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab.
 By his Spirit the heavens are garnished;
 His hand hath pierced the swift serpent.

(Job 26. 12, 13.)

Here is the same idea exactly, and again the same poet sounds the same motive in the fine words:

God will not withdraw his anger;
 The helpers of Rahab do stoop under him.

(Job 9. 13.)

In other passages in the Old Testament the part here played by Rahab is ascribed to the serpent, without the mention of any name, or to leviathan. Thus the great prophet Amos has heard these stories, and can make to them a passing allusion as he deals with big questions of righteousness. The sinners shall not escape:

Though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence; and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent, and it shall bite them.
 (Amos 9. 3.)

And in a fine passage in the Psalter leviathan is plainly enough the figure of Tiamat:

Yet God is my King of old,
 Working salvation in the midst of the earth.
 Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength:
 Thou brakest the heads of the sea monsters in the waters.
 Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces;
 Thou gavest him to be food to the people inhabiting the wilderness.

Thou didst cleave fountain and flood:
Thou driedst up mighty rivers.
The day is thine, the night also is thine:
Thou hast prepared the light and the sun.
Thou hast set all the borders of the earth:
Thou hast made summer and winter. (Psa. 74. 12-17.)

Here is proof enough that these Babylonian myths were in current circulation in Israel, and that poets and prophets knew how to adorn their message with them. But we have also the most abundant proof that these Babylonian mythological ideas had passed over Canaan before Israel entered its coasts. The famous collection of Tell-el-Amarna letters, discovered in Egypt in 1887, which formed a part of the correspondence of Egyptian kings about 1400 B.C., were written in the Babylonian script, and many of them in various cities of Palestine, Syria, Phœnicia, and Philistia. Among these were some legends,¹ which thus bring the clearest evidence that the Babylonian mythological influence spread as widely as commerce and letters. When Israel entered the land all these ideas were a part of the mental possession of the people. They were there ready and waiting to be absorbed by Israel. Whatever influence they had upon Israel's religious or social thinking was then, in that early day, exerted. The idea that Israel absorbed these things during the exile can no longer seriously

¹ See p. 187.

be maintained. Centuries before the exile they had passed through the minds of Israel's leaders, had been sifted, rejected as valueless for the greater part, but in some big places kept as the media for the expression of a more spiritual faith.

We must come now to see what influence was exerted by the Babylonian creation story upon the noble creation story in Gen. 1. 1—2. 4a. At the very beginning George Smith saw that some relationship existed, and no serious attempt to deny the palpable fact has ever been made. It must be evident to every student that the Hebrew priests knew the Babylonian story, that all its mythological material lay in the back of their minds, and that it was deliberately rejected when they wrote this beautiful story. An examination of the Babylonian and Hebrew narratives will show very plainly their resemblances and differences.

According to each account there existed a watery chaos before the work of creation began. In this chaos dwelt a monster Tiamat, personifying chaos and confusion. In the Hebrew account the word *tehom* occurs, translated "deep" in Gen. 1. 2, and this word *tehom* is identically the same word as *tiamat*, changed only slightly in passing from one language to the other. But in the Hebrew account it is stripped of mythical personality. It is the "deep" and not a sea monster. The poets and

prophets might use *tiamat* as Rahab or Leviathan for color, as we use Caliban or Prospero, but the religion of Israel eliminated these myths as unsuited to its spiritual message. But we proceed further.

In the Hebrew narrative the first act of creation is the making of light (Gen. 1. 3-5), but in the Babylonian story day and night seem to be conceived as already existing when Apsu revolted, so that the two are here in agreement.

The second act of creation is the making of the firmament which "divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament" (Gen. 1. 6-8). In the Babylonian poem the body of Tiamat is divided and one half becomes the firmament to keep the heavenly waters in place.

The third and fourth acts of creation in the Hebrew story are the creation of earth and of vegetation (Gen. 1. 9-13). The corresponding Babylonian story has been lost, but it seems quite probable that these were described, in the same order, on the fifth tablet. Berosus, in his summary, says that Bel formed the earth out of one half of Omorka's¹ body, and as in every instance where we can test his narrative it has proved to be correct, we have just ground for

¹ The name Omorka (Ομὀρκα) is almost certainly a corruption of Ummu-Khubur, the "Mother Khubur," which is a title of Tiamat. See First Tablet, line 113, p. 112.

believing that it is correct in this also. Moreover, at the very beginning of the seventh tablet Marduk is hailed as "bestower of fruitfulness," "founder of agriculture," "creator of grain and plants," he "who caused the green herb to spring up."

The fifth act of creation is the making of the heavenly bodies (Gen. 1. 14-19), and with this the parallel is very close indeed. To the sixth and seventh acts of creation (Gen. 1. 20-25) the Babylonian parallels are wanting, but Berosus gives us the hint that they were created at the same time as man, so that it is probable that this story appeared somewhere in the lost portions of the fifth or sixth tablet.

The eighth act of creation, the capstone of the whole (Gen. 1. 26-31), finds its parallel clear and plain upon the sixth tablet.

The order of the separate acts of creation is indeed not quite the same in the two accounts; for example, the creation of the heavenly bodies follows immediately upon the making of the firmament in the Babylonian story, while in the Hebrew it follows the making of the earth and its vegetation.

How great are these resemblances! It is quite impossible to suppose that they are due to chance. These two stories did not arise separately in Babylonia and in Israel. The Babylonian story is the older by centuries, and upon it the Hebrew story was founded. When the

Babylonian narrative passed over to the Hebrews it is no longer possible to determine, but it was surely soon after the invasion of Canaan or earlier.

But great as are the resemblances which bind these two narratives together, the differences are far greater and more important. The soberness, the dignity, the simplicity of the Hebrew account lift it far above its ancient exemplar. From it the crude nature myths have all been stripped away; no drunken gods hold revels in its solemn lines. But above even this stands monotheism. Alone and lonesome is this God whom the Hebrews knew. Hard and long was the struggle upward into this great faith. From the days of Moses to the days of Jeremiah the charm of polytheism held many a goodly spirit in Israel, but the great truth was latent, fighting its way to a supremacy which should here in Genesis find positive acknowledgment. To that lofty faith the Babylonians never came. This great glory belongs to Israel. Beyond the limits of her realm no other folk had attained this lofty preëminence. No other people brought forth prophets to preach, or priests to teach, this truth. Whence came this superiority? I can find no origin for it but in a personal revelation of God in human history. It was he who made himself known to the Hebrew people through their prophets, and through their living experience of him in their history. He had

indeed not left himself without a witness in Babylonia, but the revelation to Israel lifted her thinking to heights unknown before. The foundations upon which this revelation rested are to be discerned, in some part, in the religion of the Babylonians, for it was out of this circle of influences that the beginnings of Israel's conscious thinking about the work of creation came. We shall do well not to despise the day of these lesser things, but we must not fail to see clearly the larger things which came through Israel to the world. The Babylonian creation stories remained mere stories unrelated to any large purpose. In Israel, on the other hand, these stories are related to a great system of religious thinking with a noble beginning and a still nobler goal. The story of man's creation in the image of God rests not there, but moves forward to the story of man's fall from his high estate and to the voices of the prophet's calling in God's name for him to turn from his unrighteousness and live. It was, therefore, not merely monotheism which Israel had here to teach, great a message as that is. It is *ethical* monotheism. Not a God who is alone and apart, but a God who is in ethical relationship with his creatures, is here revealed. Our acquaintance with this great idea makes it almost a commonplace. We are scarcely able to realize how great it is. It is, in truth, the greatest thought that the ancient Orient ever learned.

LECTURE IV

THE SACRED BOOKS

WHICH is the more essential possession for a religion—a priesthood, or a sacred book? Nearly all religions have both. The priest, this interesting figure who stands mediating between God and men, now offers sacrifices for the washing away of guilt, and again makes decisions in weighty matters which had vexed the souls of men. In almost every religion he seems the indispensable figure, as though without him not only would the cultus be impossible, but the very faith itself would disappear. But one of the greatest of all religions disproves this contention entirely. In any enumeration of the religions of humanity Mohammedanism would hold a high place, and Mohammedanism has no priest, in the proper sense of the term, nor ever has had. Yet it still sweeps with conquering might over valley and plain in the vast continent of Africa, and its missionary spirit exceeds that of all faiths save one only.

No, the priest is not indispensable; a religion may live and grow and propagate victoriously its ideas without a priest. But where is the religion without a sacred book of some

sort? The religions of Egypt have their sacred books, and some of them full of yearning for God and the life beyond the grave. Their possession of a great organized and learned priesthood did not free them from the greater need of the book. The need of a sacred book is indeed far greater. The priesthood varies with the flight of time, the priest dies and his successor follows not in his footsteps, but turns aside to some new doctrine or cultus, but the sacred book abides, an anchor to the drifting ship of faith; a foundation sure and steadfast upon which the temple and its worship may be erected. A religion may endure without a priest, but history affords no instance of a religion without a sacred book.

The Babylonians had their sacred books; in fact, they had little else in literature.¹ The religious literature which has come down to us from the earliest times far exceeds in amount any other form of literature. Indeed, Jastrow goes so far as to say that "in its beginnings this literature is *entirely* religious."²

For the purpose of our survey the religious literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians may be divided into (a) Magical Texts or Incanta-

¹ I am here, of course, using the term Babylonian in the strict sense, as excluding and not comprehending the Assyrians, who had an extensive literature of other kinds.

² Hastings's *Bible Dictionary*, Extra Volume, 550, b. So also he says (*Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i, 267), "In gewissem Sinne ist die gesamte Literatur Babyloniens religiös."

tions, (b) Hymns to the Gods, and (c) Penitential Psalms, and in this order do they rise from the low levels of superstitious incantations to exceedingly high levels of spiritual yearning, though scarcely of spiritual attainment, in the Psalms. There is a great spiritual history between the first and the last of these forms of literature, but the sad element in it is this, that this spiritual history does not represent a growth that sloughed off the lower form as the higher was attained. In the history of the Babylonian religion the lower continued a vigorous existence all the way to the end. Our knowledge, indeed, of the whole of the literature is chiefly derived from the library of Ashurbanipal; and the fact that in his library the grossest forms of superstition were as carefully copied and as sacredly preserved as the very noblest and most beautiful aspirations after God is eloquent of the persistence of the lower with the higher.

THE MAGICAL OR INCANTATION TEXTS

The gods of Babylonia and Assyria were everywhere approached by men for positive and for negative influences. They were desired to grant those blessings, to give those helps without which man could not attain his highest happiness, and, on the other hand, they were desired to remove the sorrows, griefs, afflictions, and especially ill health, which bulk so largely

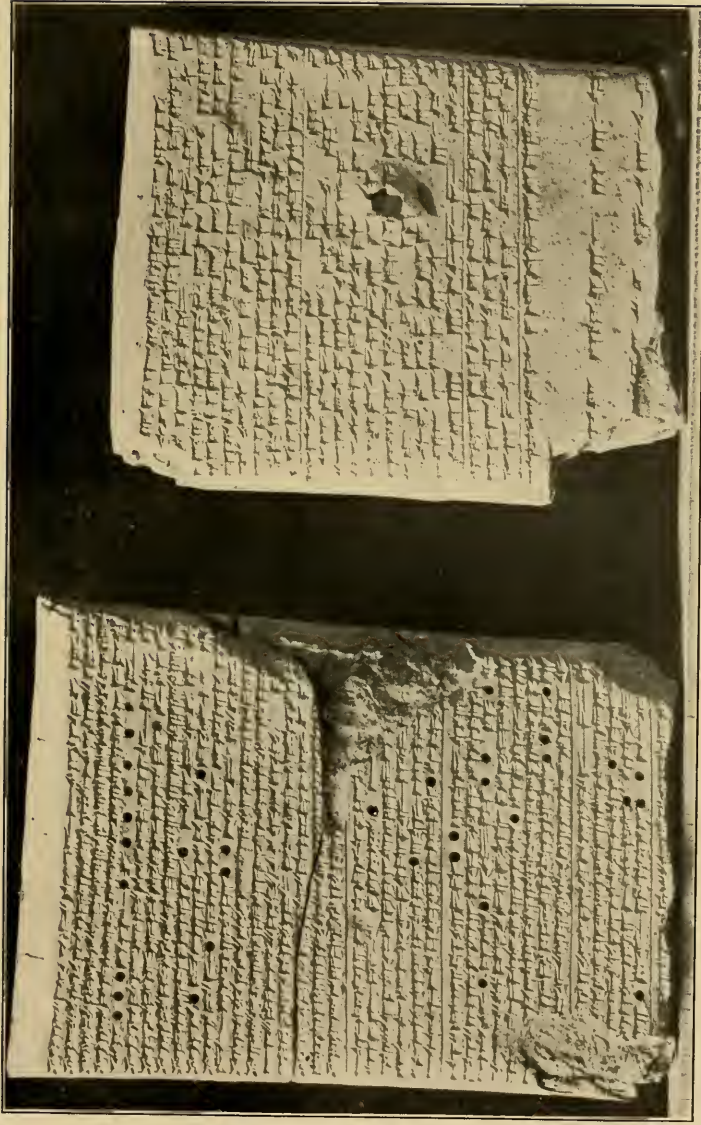


FIGURE XII.—TWO INCANTATION TABLETS, CONTAINING VARIOUS MAGICAL FORMULAS AND PRAYERS
British Museum
K. 132 (left) and K. 72 (right)

in individual and in national life. For these two great boons, for help or for succor, men prayed to the gods, sacrificed to the gods, sang their praises, or wept in despair when the gods heard not or postponed their answer. But the Babylonians did not think that the aid of the gods was to be expected in all sorts of little things. The gods had a general surveillance over life and history, but beneath their realm of influence lay a great world of minor powers, which we may call demons, or evil spirits. These demons were everywhere, they lurked in every corner, watching for their prey. The city streets knew their malevolent presence, the rivers, the seas, the tops of mountains; they appeared sometimes as serpents gliding noiselessly upon their victims, as birds horrid of mien flying resistlessly to destroy or afflict, as beings in human form, grotesque, malformed, awe-inspiring through their hideousness. To these demons all sorts of misfortune were ascribed—a toothache, a headache, a broken bone, a raging fever, an outburst of anger, of jealousy, of incomprehensible disease. Did a man lie wasting of disease and torn of pain, a demon was within him, and the disease was but the manifestation of his malevolence. There could be no return of the precious boon of good health until the demon was exorcised, and it was to the exorcising of demons that so large, so disproportionate, a part of the religious literature of Babylon and Nineveh was devoted.

The exorcising of demons was the duty of the priests, who appealed to the gods to drive them out. The method pursued by the priests was in the recitation of certain words or formulas, accompanied by symbolical rites, or by ablutions. Great importance was attached to specific words or sets of words. The test of time was supposed to have shown that certain words were efficacious in certain concrete instances. If in any case failure resulted it could only be ascribed to the use of the wrong formula or set of words. Hence there grew up a zealous and earnest determination to preserve exactly the words which in some cases had brought healing, and to keep careful record of the exact words then used.

The next step, a perfectly natural one, was to gather incantations into groups or rituals, classifying them according to purpose or use. Several of these incantation rituals have survived, and though they are sad—for the agonies of pain-tossed and broken-hearted men and women cling to them even yet—they are still of deep interest. We seem in them to touch closely a vital, even though a hopeless, faith. There is a melancholy pleasure in turning over these old words, meaningless at times, as incantations are wont to be.

There are now known six distinct series of these incantation rituals: (1) *Maqlu*, that is "burning," which is so called because there are in it many symbolical burnings of images of

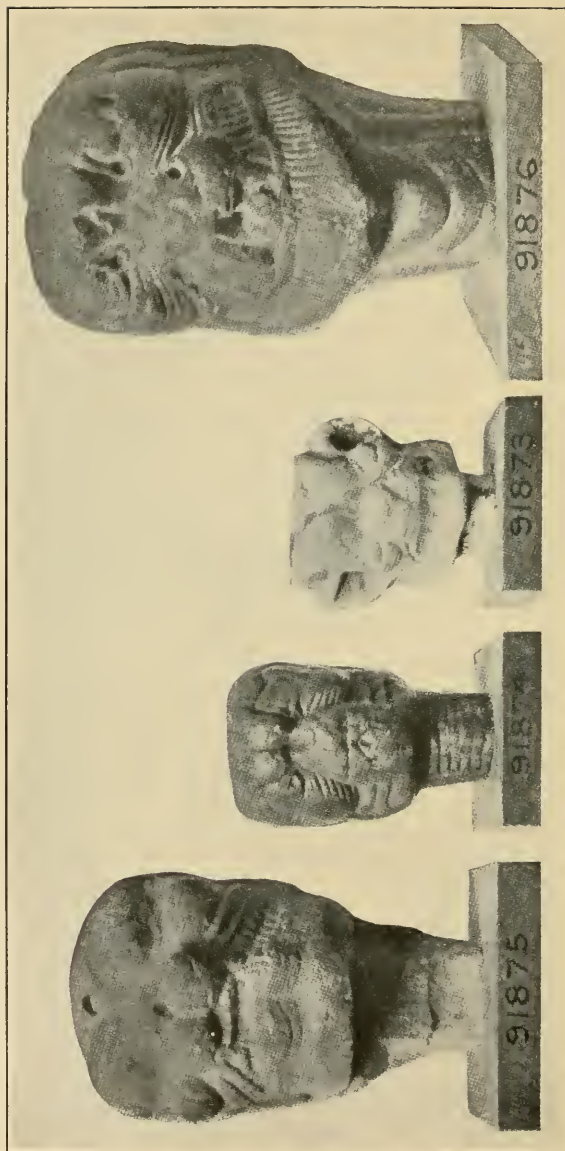


FIGURE XIII.—BABYLONIAN DEMONS
British Museum

witches. This series is used in the delivering of sufferers from witches or sorcerers. (2) *Shurpu*, another word for "burning," and this series also deals much in symbolical burnings and is used for practically the same set of purposes as the former. (3) *Labartu*, the name of a female demon which exercised a baleful influence chiefly upon mothers and children. In this series are incantations especially directed against this class of demons. (4) *Utukku limnuti*, evil demons. (5) *Ti'u*, head sickness, and (6) *Ashakku marsu*, the Ashakku sickness. It is a sorry collection indeed, but we shall not do justice to the religion if we do not see also this dark side of superstition.

In these incantations we make the acquaintance of a large number of demons with strange names, some of which possess a signification known to us, while others are hopelessly dark. Among those that we know at least partially are the *utukku*, a strong demon; the *shedu*, sometimes malevolent, but more often benevolent, who stands by a man and helps him when other demons pursue; the *rabisu*, which means one who lies in wait, a demon that springs unawares upon his victim; the *labartu*, which attacks women and children; the *labasu*, which throws one down; the *akhhazu*, which seizes and holds its victim; the *lilu* (night), the female *lilitu* (night), and the *ardat lili* (maid of the night), evil spirits which ply their evil trade at night.

There are scores of other demons and evil spirits or good, all of them the remnants of the old animistic ideas which, as we have already seen, lie deep down in the beginnings of the Babylonian religion.¹ And now let us turn to some specimens of the texts themselves. Here is a magical text:

The *utukku* of the field, and the *utukku* of the mountain.
 The *utukku* of the sea, and the one that lurks in graves.
 The evil *shedu*, the shining *alu*,
 The evil wind, the terrible wind,
 That sets one's hair on end.

Against these the spirits of heaven and earth are invoked:

The *utukku* that seizes hold of a man,
 The *ekimmu* that seizes hold of a man,
 The *ekimmu* that works evil,
 The *utukku* that works evil.

Sickness of the entrails, of the heart, of the head, of the stomach, of the kidneys, of the limbs, of the muscles, of the skin.

This is a wretched enough jargon, surely, but its very brevity does injustice to this branch of the religious literature. Even at the risk of utter weariness we must have before us one long text, complete as far as it has been preserved, and for this purpose the second tablet of the Maqlu series² will serve well:

¹ See p. 75.

² The text is published by Tallquist, *Die Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlu*, nach den originalen im British Museum herausgegeben. 1895. The translation here given, while made from the original, owes much to

- INCANTATION. Nusku, great god, prince of the great gods,
 Guardian of the offerings of all the Igigi,
 Founder of cities, restorer of shrines,
 Brilliant day, whose command is exalted,
 5 Messenger of Anu, who gives heed to the decree of
 Bel,
 Who gives heed to Bel, counselor, rock of the Igigi,
 Powerful in battle, whose onset is mighty,
 Nusku, the burner, who compels his foes,
 Without thee no table is prepared in the temple.
 10 Without thee the great gods smell no savor of sac-
 rifice,
 Without thee Shamash, the judge, pronounces no
 judgment.
 Wise one
 I, thy servant So and So, the son of So and So, whose
 god is So and So, whose goddess is So and So,
 I turn to thee, I seek thee, lifting up my hands to
 thee, I fall at thy feet.
 15 Burn the sorcerer and the sorceress.
 May the life of my sorcerer and sorceress be de-
 stroyed!
 As for me, let me live, that I may make thy heart
 glad, and that I may humbly serve thee!

Pronounce the incantation in a whisper. Have an image
 of wax (?) therewith.

- INCANTATION. O fire god, perfect lord, thou makest thy
 name known,
 20 God Nannar, thou everything,

the work of Tallquist, without whose foundation-laying it could hardly have been made. I have numbered the lines not only to make easy the reference to the originals, but also to give an idea of the length of the whole, and to show how much I have omitted. This one series consists of eight tablets, and according to Tallquist's reckoning contained originally about 1,550 lines, of which about 1,200 have reached us in a fair state of preservation.

Thou lightest the house of darkness, thou
the lands,

Thou lightest the darkness, before thee I
take my stand.

As thou art a judge of judgment,
Like Sin and Shamash, thou givest judgment,

25 Pronounce my judgment, decree my fate.

[Several badly broken and several missing lines.]

35 Now, in the presence of thy great godhead,

The images in bronze [have I made],

The images of my sorcerer and sorceress,

Of my master and mistress in witchcraft,

Of my maddeners, male and female,

40 Of my destroyer and of my destroyeress,

Of the lord of my oppression and the lady of my
oppression,

And so it runs on line after line, exhausting all the synonyms of the language, lest some possible form of bewitchment should be passed over, and so the very form which had caused all the trouble fail to be reached by the incantation. The worshiper has the image in his hand as he recites all this formula. He now intends to destroy it and by the same token to destroy the evil demons, whatever they may be, which it represents; so he speaks further:

Now, will I burn them and singe them

Before thy great godhead,

On the bank of the goddess of the river.

Look upon me graciously, O Lord, tear these out of
my body.

65 Release their evil witchcrafts.

Thou, O fire god, art the lord, that dost march at my
side,

Let me live, that I may make thy heart glad, that I
may humbly serve thee.

Pronounce the incantation in a whisper. Have a bronze
image of the river god therewith.

INCANTATION. O fire god, firstborn of Anu,
70 Thou art he that givest judgment, that determinest
fate,

Thou lightest up the darkness.

Into disorder and disturbance thou bringest order,

To the great gods thou givest fate,

Like unto thee, no god giveth fate.

75 Thou art he that giveth order and command.

[Several lines missing.]

Now before thy great divinity,

With thy hand have I made of bronze the images of
the sorcerer and the sorceress,

80 Before thee have I placed them and given them into
thy charge.

Let them die, but let me live,

Let them be under a ban, but let me prosper,

Let them perish, but let me increase,

Let them become weak, but let me wax strong,

85 O fire god, mighty, exalted among the gods,

Thou that conquerest the evil and the enemy, con-
quer them, and I shall not be destroyed.

May I thy servant live, may I remain secure, may I
stand before thy presence.

Thou art my god, thou art my lord,

Thou art my judge, thou art my helper,

90 Thou art my avenger. Pronounce the incantation.

Pronounce the incantation in a whisper. Have a bronze
image therewith.

INCANTATION. O fire god, thou burner, mighty son of Anu,
Most terrible among the gods thy brothers art thou,
Who givest judgment like Sin and Shamash.

- 95 Pronounce my judgment, determine my fate,
 Burn the sorcerer and the sorceress.
 O fire god, burn the sorcerer and the sorceress!
 O fire god, roast the sorcerer and the sorceress!
 O fire god, burn them!
- 100 O fire god, roast them!
 O fire god, overpower them!
 O fire god, destroy them!
 O fire god, carry them away!
 As for those who practice evil sorcery and noxious
 witchcraft,
- 105 Who, with evil purpose, have plotted against me,
 Let a strong being take them away
 deprive them of their property, and
 Make the spoiler to lie down in their camps.
 O fire god, strong, powerful, mighty,
- 110 In the temple, the place of thy retreat, how long . .
 At the sacrifice to Ea, thy begetter the
 brilliant god,
 Who Pronounce the incantation. .

Pronounce the incantation in a whisper. Have a honey
 image therewith.

And so the stupid incantation continues, a pathetic medley of nonsense, without a gleam of real worship, without a moving spirit of ethical content. It is all too sad, too wretched and hopeless. But I must quote just a little more of it. If the person over whom these sorry incantations are recited is to get any real freedom the sorcerer must be so bound up that he cannot again afflict his victim; he must be likewise afflicted as he has tortured the sufferer. Now let us see how this is to be accomplished:

- INCANTATION. They have used all sorts of charms,
 To entwine me as with ropes,
 150 To overpower me as with a bird snare,
 To tie me as with cords,
 To overpower me as in a net,
 To twist me as with a sling,
 To tear me as a fabric,
 155 To fill me with dirty water from a wall,
 To tear me down as a wall.

Then the exorciser speaks:

- But I, by command of Marduk, the lord of charms,
 By Marduk, the lord of bewitchment,
 Both the male and the female witch,
 160 As with ropes I will entwine,
 As in a bird snare I will entrap,
 As with cords I will tie,
 As in a net I will overpower,
 As in a sling I will twist,
 165 As a fabric I will tear,
 With dirty water from a wall I will fill,
 As a wall I will tear them down.

All these acts were performed with a little image of bitumen covered with gypsum.

All this would be futile enough, and sad enough in its utter hopelessness, if it appeared very early in the history of the religion, was then outgrown and left by the wayside of a faith marching on to higher things. But it is not so. These incantations remained, full of life and vigor, to the very latest days. In all religions it must be admitted that a big body of the believers lag far behind the gifted souls, who

stride onward to distant heights, their spiritual guidance within showing them ever a better, though a narrower, way. But in Babylonia these things endured among the leaders themselves. This very tablet, portions of which I have here translated, was thought so important that it was carefully copied out for Ashurbanipal's library, not as an interesting archæological curiosity, but as a living thing, still potent among men. At the end of this tablet is this colophon, eloquent of the persistence of this sort of faith in even that great age, in the seventh century before Christ, the very age of Jeremiah, preacher of a puissant monotheism:

- 210 The second tablet of the Maqlu series,
 Written according to the original, renewed and compared,
 The Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, who puts his trust in Ashur and Belit,
 To whom Nabu and Tashmetu have granted wide open ears,
 Who possesses clear-seeing eyes to honor the art of tablet writing,
- 215 Such as no one of the kings my predecessors had acquired,
 The wisdom of Nabu
 On tablets I have written, inscribed, compared, and
 For my seeing and reading
 Placed in my palace,
- 220 I the lord, who knoweth the light of Ashur, king of the gods,
 Whoever carries it away, or inscribes his name with mine,



FIGURE XIV.—INCANTATION TABLET, THE THIRD OF THE
MAQLU SERIES

British Museum, K. 2728

Size of the original, $8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches

May Ashur and Belit in anger and wrath overthrow
him, and

Destroy his name and seed out of the land.

No Assyrian king ever had so great a desire to know the arts and letters and sciences of his day as had Ashurbanipal. The incantations were stored away for his eye, were to be read in the hearing of his ear, an ear wide open for the best. It is testimony enough to their endurance.

Of all the literature of incantations perhaps no single piece has more human interest than the so-called legend of the worm. The worm to which it refers is the worm which was supposed to cause toothache, a terror then and a horror still to many sons of men. As befits a worm with power of torture so great, the legend is couched in truly cosmogonic form. I dare not pass it by, but must quote it entire:

After Anu [had created the Heavens]

The Heavens created [the Earth],

The Earth created the Rivers,

The Rivers created the Canals,

5 The Canals created the Marshes,

The Marshes created the Worm.

Then came the Worm to weep before Shamash,

Before Ea came her tears:—

“What wilt thou give me for my food,

10 What wilt thou give me to destroy?”

“I will give thee dried bones,

(And) scented —wood.”

“What are these dried bones to me,

And scented —wood!”

- 15 Let me drink among the teeth,
 And set me on the gums (?),
 That I may devour the blood of the teeth
 And of their gums destroy the strength;
 Then shall I hold the bolt of the door."

Here, then, we have a life history of the worm that causes the ache in the tooth; but we are now dealing with incantations, and the next question is, how to rid one's self of the ache and of the worm which caused it. The text proceeds to give two methods, the one a form of words to be pronounced as a prayer or incantation addressed to the god Ea, the other a medicine to be applied to the tooth and accompanied by the incantation. The text concludes thus:

So must thou say this: "O Worm!
 May Ea smite thee with the might of his fist."

INCANTATION OF THE SICK MOUTH

- 25 Thou shouldst do the following:
 Mix beer, the plant SA-KIL-BAR, and oil together,
 Repeat thereon the incantation thrice,
 (And) put it on his tooth.¹

If this were the best of the religion of Babylon and Assyria it would take a low rank indeed among the faiths of mankind. But there are higher things, and still higher, and toward them we must begin to set our face.

¹ The text is published in transliteration and translation in R. Campbel Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vol. ii, pp. 160-163. London, 1904. I have followed his rendering, with but minor changes.

All this is primitive, resting down upon the lower views of divine and demoniacal forces, but into this very class of low incantation texts, in the second tablet of the Shurpu series,¹ there breaks forth a long and heart-aching appeal with a true ethical note in it. The man who makes it wishes to be delivered from his afflictions, but the exorciser first desires to satisfy himself as to the source of the guilt, or the nature of the sin which has brought this affliction upon him. The tablet begins thus:

- 20 Hath he set a son at variance with a father,
 A father with a son,
 A daughter with a mother,
 A mother with a daughter,
 A daughter-in-law with a mother-in-law,
 25 A mother-in-law with a daughter-in-law,
 A brother with a brother,
 A friend with a friend,
 A companion with a companion?
 Hath he not set free the prisoner, or loosed the
 captive?
 30 Hath he not let the prisoner see the light?
 Hath he said of a prisoner, "Seize him," or of a
 bondman, "Bind him"?
 Is it perchance a sin against a god, or a transgression
 against a goddess?
 Hath he vexed a god, or despised a goddess?

Some of it is indeed more or less tinged with

¹ Published in a masterly fashion by Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion*. I. Die Beschwörungsserie Shurpu. II. Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger. Leipzig, 1896-1901. My translation rests primarily upon his work, though I have ventured to differ upon some minor points.

the idea of merely ceremonial violations against a god, but it runs on again into the true ethical note:

- 36 Hath he despised father or mother, or insulted an elder sister?
 Hath he yielded in little things, and refused in great?
 For No, said Yes?
 For Yes, said No?
- 40 Hath he spoken a word unsuitable or rebellious?
 Hath he spoken a coarse word?

I must not quote too many of these lines, but I do wish to get before us very plainly this higher ethical movement in this lower religious environment, and I will therefore set down a few more lines taken from different portions of the same text, and specially chosen to show the very high ethical position:

- 42 Hath he used false weights?

- 45 Hath he set up a wrong landmark, or failed to set up the right landmark?

- 47 Hath he entered his neighbor's house?
 Hath he approached his neighbor's wife?
 Hath he shed his neighbor's blood?
- 50 Hath he taken away his neighbor's garment?

- 55 Is his mouth straightforward, but his heart false?
 Doth his mouth consent, but his heart deny?

- 70 Is it because of the grave misdeed which he hath done?
 Or because of the many sins which he hath committed?

There can be no doubt of the meaning of all this. Here is a fully developed theological dogma, which connects the sins of a man directly with his misfortunes or his afflictions. This is the same theological idea which fills so large a place in the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament. The one great burden of the speeches of Job's accusing friends is just this, that Job must have sinned grievously or he had never suffered so terribly. Job himself has the same theological conception, and storms against God for injustice in condemning him to suffer when he was conscious of no wrongdoing. Nay, this same idea persists in Hebrew religion to the end, and rings out at last in the urgent question addressed to the Lord, "Who sinned, this man or his parents?"

From this higher ethical platform we may well take our departure from the magical texts, realizing fully how deep and strong is man's ethical sense in all religions, and at the same time not forgetting the lower ideas with which it is often associated.

The religious literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians, as has already been said, rose up to a great series of hymns to the gods. The greatest number of these are dedicated to Shamash, the sun god, but many of the finest of them all were composed in honor of Sin, the moon god. They have come down to us out of almost all the periods of the religious history

of the people. Some were composed in the very latest days, during that reign of Nabodonis, when the sound of Cyrus's advancing army could be heard in the distance, and a few go back to the days of the old city kingdoms. Indeed, that early influence of the city kingdom continues to the last. There was no outburst of faith from polytheism into monotheism, partly, perhaps, because the *local* power was so intense. No city would give up its local deity in order that any other city, no matter how potent politically, might secure complete preëminence for its god. Babylon might struggle never so hard, in its organized priesthood, to lift Marduk to high and ever higher position. He still remained to the very end of the days only one god among many, and the greatest of the Babylonian kings, Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus, to the very last vied with each other in paying honor to Shamash in Sippar, whose temple they continually rebuilt and adorned with ever greater magnificence.

As I have said before, the lower forms of religious thinking continued on to the very latest hour, and were not driven out by the higher. So we need not be surprised to find that some of the noblest hymns were contemporaneous with the most wretched and contemptible of the magic formulas. Indeed, some of the hymns belong to the incantations and are found as mere preludes to a jumble of

formulas, intended to drive away a fever, whose supposed potency resided in the exact repetition of their very words.

To understand the hymns and prayers (for the two run together, and are sometimes as indistinguishable as they are in the nobler Psalter of the Hebrews) we shall do best to turn to the hymns themselves, and by long extracts make their spirit and their music vocal in the mind.

We may well begin with a prayer, one of the earliest which has come down to us, the prayer of Lugal-zaggisi (3500 B.C.). The king ascribes his successes in war to the gods, and then bursts out in this prayer to the older Bel of Nippur:

O En-lil, the king of the lands, may Anu, to his beloved father speak my prayer; to my life may he add life, and cause the lands to dwell in security; may he give me warriors as many as the grass; the herds of heaven may he watch over; the land with prosperity endow; the good fortune which the gods have given me, may he not change; and may I ever remain the shepherd, who standeth at the head.¹

Centuries later the great ruler Gudea scatters such prayers plentifully through his inscrip-

¹ Published by Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, i, part 2, No. 87, partially translated by him, *ibid.*, p. 52ff., fully translated by Thureau-Dangin, *Revue Sémitique*, 1897, pp. 263ff., and translated anew in *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 153ff. The prayer is found in column iii, lines 14–36. See a different translation from mine in Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, p. 139, and another in Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i, p. 394.

tions. Here, for example, is a prayer and hymn addressed to Ningirsu:

O warrior! wild dragon, thou that hast no rival,
 Ningirsu, thou that dost [breathe] in the depths,
 Thou that art a prince in Nippur!
 Warrior! whose commands shall I fulfill in truth?
 Ningirsu, thy temple will I build thee.
 Thy decisions will I fulfill.¹

The same monarch appeals often to the goddess Bau, in words like these:

O my queen, daughter of the pure heaven,
 Who givest good counsel, and dost hold first rank among
 the gods
 Thou that grantest life unto the land.

Thou art the Queen, the mother that founded Lagash.
 That people flourishes upon whom thou dost look in favor.
 Long life falls to that man upon whom thou dost look in
 favor.

I have no mother—thou art my mother,
 I have no father—thou art my father.
 My father in a holy place I am come into the
 world.

O my goddess Ga-tum-dug, thou knowest what is good!
 Thou hast granted me life,
 I will seek refuge from my anxiety in thy shadow, under
 my mother's care.²

Far above these prayers range the noble

¹ Gudea, Cylinder A, col. ii, lines 10–18 (in Price's edition). For the translation compare especially Thureau-Dangin, *Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften*, p. 91.

² Gudea, A, col. ii, 28–iii, 15. Compare Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* pp. 92, 93.

prayers of Nebuchadrezzar, of which this may serve as a sufficient example:

O eternal ruler, lord of all being, grant that the name of the king that thou lovest, whose name thou hast proclaimed, may flourish as seems pleasing to thee. Lead him in the right way. I am the prince that obeys thee, the creature of thy hand. Thou hast created me, and hast intrusted to me dominion over mankind. According to thy mercy, O lord, which thou bestowest upon all, may thy supreme rule be merciful! The worship of thy divinity implant in my heart! Grant me what seems good to thee, for thou art he that hast fashioned my life.¹

These are prayers; the hymns rise to even greater heights, and among these we can do no better than turn to the splendid hymn to the god Nannar, the moon god, the god of Ur. The text which I here translate comes from a copy which belonged to the library of Ashurbanipal²; it is written in Sumerian, in the dialect of Eme-sal, as well as in Assyrian, and this careful copying in both tongues may perhaps serve as a token of the high esteem in which it was held in the later Assyrian days:

O Lord, chief of the gods, who alone art exalted on earth
and in heaven.

Father Nannar, Lord, Anshar, chief of the gods,

¹ IR., 53, col. i, 55-ii, 1. (The East India House Inscription.) It has often been translated; see, for example, C. D. Gray in *Harper's Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, p. 135.

² IV R., 2d edition, 9. For other translations compare R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 430ff.; M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i, pp. 436ff.

- Father Nannar, Lord, great Anu,¹ chief of the gods,
 Father Nannar, Lord, Sin, chief of the gods,
 Father Nannar, Lord of Ur, chief of the gods,
 Father Nannar, Lord of E-gish-shir-gal, chief of the gods,
 Father Nannar, Lord of the veil, brilliant one, chief of
 the gods,
 Father Nannar, whose rule is perfect, chief of the gods,
 Father Nannar, who dost march in great majesty, chief of
 the gods,
 O strong, young bull, with strong horns, perfect in muscles,
 with beard of lapis lazuli color,² full of glory and
 perfection,
 Self-created, full of developed fruit, beautiful to look upon,
 in whose being one cannot sufficiently sate himself;
 Mother womb, begetter of all things, who has taken up
 his exalted habitation among living creatures;
 O merciful, gracious father, in whose hand rests the life
 of the whole world.
 O Lord, thy divinity is full of awe, like the far-off heaven
 and the broad ocean.
 O creator of the land, founder of sanctuaries, proclaimer
 of their names.
 O father, begetter of gods and men, who dost build dwell-
 ings and establish offerings,
 Who dost call to lordship, dost bestow the scepter, de-
 terminest destinies for far-off days.
 O mighty leader, whose deep inner being no god under-
 stands.
 O sturdy one, whose knees do not grow weary, who dost
 open the road for the gods thy brothers,
 Thou that from the base of heaven to the height of

¹ Sin is here identified with Anu. This method of honoring a god in one place by identifying him with some other god worshiped elsewhere is not a sign of monotheistic tendencies. See p. 166.

² The moon god is represented generally, in Babylonian art, with a long beard.

heaven dost march in glory, opening the door of heaven, and granting light to all men.

O father, begetter of all things, who lookest upon all living beings

O Lord, who determinest the decisions of heaven and earth, whose command is not set aside.

Who holdest fire and water, and leadeest all souls.

What god reaches thy fullness?

Who is exalted in heaven? Thou alone art exalted.

Who is exalted on earth? Thou alone art exalted.

Thy word¹ is proclaimed in heaven, and the Igigi prostrate themselves,

Thy word is proclaimed on earth, and the Anunnaki kiss the ground,

Thy word blows on high like a storm wind, and food and drink stream before it.

Thy word settles down upon earth, and vegetation springs up.

Thy word stretches itself out over stall and herd, and life is increased.

Thy word, who can grasp it? Who is like unto it?

O Lord, there is none like unto thee in sovereignty in the heaven, in sovereignty on earth.

O Lord of the exalted home of the gods, whose word has no rival, whose divinity is beyond compare.

Much of this is full of splendid religious feeling, and the exaltation of Sin sounds in places as though the poet could scarcely acknowledge any other god. But the proof that other gods were invoked in the same terms and by the

¹ Zimmern (*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 608, footnote 6) argues that this use of the expression "word" is a personification which he compares with the Old Testament usage. I entirely agree with Jastrow (*op. cit.*, p. 437, footnote 8) that this is mistaken. It means nothing more than "command."

same kings is plentiful. There is perhaps a stream here discernible which flows toward henotheism, though there is surely no gleam of monotheism. I doubt, indeed, whether it is not rather a pantheistic tendency such as appears in the splendid Hymn to Aton of Amenophis IV.¹ There was in a somewhat later period than that to which this hymn belongs a philosophical speculation among the priests of Babylon by which they sought to identify with Marduk the powers and privileges of the other gods. This appears in the phrases, "Ninib is the Marduk of battle," "Sin is Marduk the light of night," "Ramman is the Marduk of rain." There is here no sound of monotheism; it is at best a philosophical speculation with a tendency toward henotheism. It is a pity that these priests were not able to rise above these limitations into a real henotheism, nay, into monotheism itself; but the God who stands in the shadows behind all the religious gropings of man willed it not so. That greater honor was reserved for the little people of the West, once a nation of slaves in Egypt, and then the bringers in of a new day to the world of men who sought after God.

Perhaps we shall do well to remind ourselves again that these hymns are connected often with the magical and incantation literature,

¹ See a beautiful translation of this hymn in James Henry Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 371ff. New York, 1905.

and this may well be accomplished by the citation of a few lines from a hymn to the goddess Ishtar in which prayer and incantation and hymn are blended:

A "PRAYER OF THE RAISING OF THE HAND" TO ISHTAR¹
 INCANTATION. I pay unto thee, sovereign of sovereigns,
 goddess of goddesses,
 Ishtar, queen of all men, directress of mankind.
 O Irini,² O exalted one, mistress of the Igili,
 Thou art mighty, thou art queen, thy name is exalted.
 5 Thou art the light of heaven and earth, O valiant
 daughter of Sin,
 Directing arms, establishing combat,
 Framing all laws, bearing the crown of dominion.
 O lady, thy greatness is majestic, exalted above all
 the gods.
 Star of lamentation, who makest hostility among
 brethren at peace,

¹ There has been found in the British Museum a most interesting class of tablets, each having a colophon written between two straight lines, drawn by the scribe and containing the words, "Prayer of the Lifting of the Hand to . . ." with the name of a god or goddess inserted at the close. The expression of the raising of the hand refers to the act of prayer, and the texts have at the close directions for the performing of various ritual observances. The tablets were not numbered by the Assyrians themselves into a series like the *Maqlu* and *Shurpu* series, and so form rather a *class* than a *series*. All that were known up to 1896 were published by L. W. King (*Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* being "*The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand*." London, 1896). Afterward King found another and far finer tablet of the same class which was published along with the creation legends (King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, London, 1902, ii, 75ff., the original text, and i, 222ff., the translation). It has also been translated into German by Zimmern, *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete*, pp. 19ff. (*Alter Orient*, vii, 3), and into French by Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 356ff. My translation owes some slight improvements to both of these. On this class of texts one may further compare Weber, *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer*, pp. 153ff. Leipzig, 1907.

² Ishtar is identified with Irini, just as she is elsewhere with Anunit, Belit, Nana, etc. For this process of identification see also p. 166.

- 10 Making them abandon friendship
 For a friend. O lady of victory, making my desire
 impetuous.
 O Gushea,¹ who art covered with battle, who art
 clothed with fear,
 Thou dost perfect destiny and decision, the law of
 earth and heaven.
 Sanctuaries, shrines, divine dwellings and temples
 worship thee.
- 15 Where is thy name not *heard*? Where not thy decree?
 Where are thy images not made? Where are thy
 temples not founded?
 Where art thou not great? Where art thou not
 exalted?
 Anu, Bel, and Ea have exalted thee, among the gods
 have they increased thy dominion,
- 25 Thou judgest the cause of men with justice and right,
 Thou regardest the violent and destructive, thou
 directest *them* every morning.

This is all on a high plane, and much of it seems almost as noble as the great hymn of Sin which has just passed before us. But it soon plunges downward through a beautiful prayer into bans and witcheries and incantations. Let us pass a little more of it in review:

- I invoke thee, *I*, sorrowful, sighing, suffering,
 Look upon me, O my lady, and accept my supplica-
 tion,
 Pity me in truth, and hearken unto my prayer.
- 45 Speak deliverance unto me, let thy heart be appeased.

¹ King reads *Gutira*, but doubtless *Gushea* is the correct reading. Compare Meissner, *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern*, p. 29.

How long shall my body lament, full of troubles and disorders?

How long shall my heart be afflicted, full of sorrow and sighing?

How long shall my omens be sad, troubled and confused?

How long shall my house be troubled, pouring forth complaints?

55 Put an end to the evil bewitchments of my body, that I may see thy clear light.

59 How long, O my lady, shall the ravenous demon pursue me?

Here we may plainly see the higher slipping away into the lower, the later religious attainment slipping back into the early magic. But it drops still lower, for the conclusion has naught to offer but a meaningless ceremonial and a reliance upon the iteration of this form of words. So does the concluding passage stand:

107 This shalt thou do a green bough shalt thou sprinkle with pure water; four bricks from the midst of a ruin shalt thou set up;

A lamb shalt thou take; with *garbatu* wood shalt thou fill *the censer*, and thou shalt set fire (thereto); sweet scented woods, some *upunta* plant and some cypress wood,

Shalt thou keep up; a drink offering shalt thou offer, but thou shalt not bow thyself down. This incantation before the goddess Ishtar

110 Three times shalt thou recite and thou shalt not look behind thee.

INCANTATION. O exalted Ishtar, that givest light unto
the four quarters of the world.

It is quite plain here that the very words must be repeated. The efficacy of the spell depended upon the exact repetition. The literature is full of material of this kind. It mattered not whether the priest understood the words or not: "the inspiration lay in the words more than in the sense they conveyed; and error of pronunciation was more fatal than a misunderstanding of their meaning."¹ It is indeed a strange mixture of spiritual religion and of the sorcerer's arts which here confronts us.

Before we leave these hymns we ought to turn our minds for a little while to the greatest of them all. The high position which we are ready and willing to give to it seems to have been given also in the ancient world, for the fragments which have come down to us belong to at least three distinct copies, and it seems a just inference that its worth found a full recognition. It is sadly broken, but we can make out at least a portion of it. It is addressed to Shamash, the sun god, and is quite free of the magical formulas which have so disfigured the hymns previously quoted.

The mighty mountains are filled with thy glance,²

¹ Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylon*, p. 414.

² This hymn was first published by Brünnow, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iv, pp. 7-35. It has been republished with some additions by C. D. Gray, *The Shamash Religious Texts* (Chicago, 1901), pp. 9-23.

- 20 Thy holiness fills and overpowers all lands,
 Thou dost reach the mountains, dost overlook the
 earth;
 At the uttermost points of earth, in the midst of
 heaven, thou dost move,
 The inhabitants of the whole earth thou dost watch
 over,
 All that Ea, the king, the prince, has created thou
 dost watch over,
- 25 All created beings thou dost shepherd together.
 Thou art the shepherd of all above and below,
 Thou dost march in order over heaven's course,
 To lighten the earth dost thou come daily.
 The waters, the sea, the mountains, the earth, the
 heaven,
- 30 How orderly dost thou come daily,

 Among all the Igigi there is not that giveth rest, but
 thee;
 Among all the gods of the Universe, there is none
 that exceeds thee.
 At thy rising all the gods of the lands assemble to-
 gether.

And so it sweeps on in noble adoration, heaping
 praise upon the god, and rising height upon
 height of exaltation to him. But grander by
 far are the lines in which the god is praised as a
 judge of righteousness, as a god to whom come
 the deeds of men for review in praise or blame:

COLUMN II:

Who plans evil—his horn thou dost destroy,

plates 1-2. It has also been translated, in part, by Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 433, 434. The hymn contained originally about 424 lines, and it is a great pity that it has come down to us so badly broken.

- 40 Whoever in fixing boundaries annuls rights.
 The unjust judge thou restrainest with force.
 Whoever accepts a bribe, who does not judge justly
 —on him thou imposest sin.
 But he who does not accept a bribe, who has a care
 for the oppressed,
 To him Shamash is gracious, his life he prolongs.
- 45 The judge who renders a just decision
 Shall end in a palace, the place of princes shall be
 his dwelling.
-

COLUMN III:

- The seed of those who act unjustly shall not flourish.
 What their mouth declares in thy presence
 Thou shalt burn it up, what they purpose wilt thou
 annul.
- 15 Thou knowest their transgressions; the declaration of
 the wicked thou dost cast aside.
 Every one wherever he may be is in thy care.
 Thou directest their judgments, the imprisoned dost
 thou liberate.
 Thou hearest, O Shamash, petition, prayer, and
 appeal,
 Humility, prostration, petitioning, and reverence.
- 20 With loud voice the unfortunate one cries to thee.
 The weak, the exhausted, the oppressed, the lowly,
 Mother, wife, maid appeal to thee.
 He who is removed from his family, he that dwelleth
 far from his city.

And so it goes on calling out by name all classes of society, the merchant, the hunter, the learned, the humble shepherd, all of whom depend for assistance upon the great and wise and good sun god. This hymn rises far above aught else that has yet claimed our attention in this old faith.

Here is no suggestion of magic or sorcery; here is no trace of animism or demonism. Here is only praise for the great god of the sun. One feels also most deeply how close this came to an appreciation of the sun god as a judge of men on an ethical basis, how near these old hearts were to bursting through the veil into a larger religious life.

But elsewhere all over Babylonia, in several of the greatest temples, a similar struggle upward was in progress, but the power to unite these wavering hearts was wanting.

In E-zida, where Nabu was worshiped, the temple of Borsippa, Babylon's neighboring city, this hymn¹ was uttered:

- O lord, prince, firstborn of Marduk,
 O prudent ruler, offspring of Sarpanitum,
 Nabu, bearer of the tablet of fates of the god, director
 of E-sagila,
 Lord of E-zida, protector of Borsippa,
 5 Darling of Ea, giver of life,
 Lord of Babylon, protector of life,
 God of dwelling places, preserver of men, lord of
 sanctuaries,
 Thy honor is made known by mouth of men, O pro-
 tecting god.
 O son of the great Marduk, in thy mouth is justice.
 10 In thy honored name, upon thy exalted command,
 I, So and So, the son of So and So, of grievous illness
 held, thy servant,

¹ Published and translated by King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, etc., No. 22, pp. 81ff. Compare also Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

The hand of the *Utukku* and the breath of the
Burruda hath overcome and seized me,
 Grant me to attain unto life and healing,
 Establish righteousness in my mouth.

- 15 mercy within my heart,
 Return and rest. May they command mercy.
 May my god stand at my right hand,
 May my goddess stand at my left hand.
 May the good Shedû, the good Lamassu, stand by me,
 20 Heal me through command and obedience.

This poem of praise to Nabu shows at once how far these worshipers in Borsippa had come in the lifting up of their patron deity toward the height to which, as we have seen, the people of Sippar had raised Shamash. But this hymn shows also how tenaciously the demonistic ideas had clung, how the Shedû and Lamassu still claimed belief, and how persistently the dualistic idea of goddess by the side of god lived on until the very end, as Delitzsch¹ has pointed out in earnest words which we shall do well not to forget.

But great as Nabu may seem to be when we have this hymn before us, he falls backward into the shadows when our thoughts turn to Marduk, god of Babylon, who rose high and higher as the political preëminence of Babylon was achieved and established. For him, as we have already seen, the old religious and mytho-

¹ "Denn, was nie zu vergessen ist, der Dualismus von Gott und Göttin bleibt allem Anschein nach trotz der Vorstellung von Marduk als dem Einen Gott, ja selbst trotz der Identifizierung von Marduk und Nebo unangetastet."—*Babel u. Bibel*, i, 5te Auf., p. 82.

logical literature was rewritten, that his political claims might be supported by theological tenets. What honors in hymns were paid to him we must seek to know ere we pass away from the hymns to the cry of the penitent.

A number of hymns to Marduk have come down to us, representing many phases of religious development, and it is difficult to choose among them, but we must take care to find the best, that the religion of Marduk may be represented at its highest point. Here is a hymn¹ which will perhaps serve well as a beginning:

INCANTATION:

- 9-10 Great king, lord of the lands,
 11-13 Firstborn son of Ea, who is powerful in heaven
 and upon earth,
 14-16 Marduk, great lord of men, and king of the lands,
 god of gods,
 17-18 Prince of heaven and earth, who hath not his like,
 19-20 Darling of Anu and of Bel,
 21-22 Merciful among the gods,
 23-24 Merciful, who loveth to awaken the dead,
 25-26 Marduk, king of heaven and of earth,
 27-28 King of Babylon, lord of E-sagila,
 29-30 King of E-zida, lord of E-makhtila,
 31-32 Heaven and earth are thine,
 33-34 The bewitching of life is thine,

¹ IV R., 2d edition, 29, No. 1. This portion of it is translated very well by Hehn, *Sünde und Erlösung nach Biblischer und Babylonischer Anschauung* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 27, 28. The same scholar has reedited the text and translated it in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, v, pp. 334, 336. Text and translation also in C. Fossey, *La magie assyrienne* (Paris, 1902), pp. 364ff. Translation by Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonians und Assyriens*, p. 501.

- 35-36 The food of life is thine,
 37-38 The pure incantation, the incantation of the deep
 is thine,
 39-40 Mankind, the black-haired men,
 41-42 All that hath a soul upon earth are thine.
 43-44 The four quarters of heaven,
 45-46 The Igigi of all heaven and of earth,
 47-49 So many as there are,
 50-51 Unto thee is their thought directed,

REVERSE:

- 1-2 Thou art their *shedu*,
 3-4 Thou art their *lamassu*,
 5-6 Thou art he that giveth them life,
 7-8 Thou art he that restoreth it.
 9-10 Merciful among the gods,
 11 Merciful who loveth to awaken the dead,
 12 Marduk, king of heaven and of earth,
 13-14 Thy name will I name, thy greatness publish,
 15-18 The mention of thy name the gods do praise.
 19-20 Turn away the sickness of the sick man.

A noble hymn is this, but still bearing in it the marks of polytheism, and showing in its last words how close is the connection of even these very lofty hymns with the healing of disease. It is interesting also as showing the effort to assemble in Marduk's hands powers and privileges which had belonged to the older gods. Here, for example, is the verse,

The pure incantation, the incantation of the deep is thine.

This is the oft-mentioned *shipat-Eridu*, the incantation of Eridu, which in the earlier literature belongs to Ea.

As a last witness to the hymns of the Babylonian religion we may well have recourse to a splendid hymn to Marduk, which first became known to us in a copy recovered from the library of Ashurbanipal.¹ It is one of the romances of archæology that the same hymn has now been found in Babylon itself.² A comparison shows that the copyist made some changes, besides adding at the end a few words of prayer for Ashurbanipal, to whom the copy was thenceforth to belong. Here is the prayer:

Grant that Ashurbanipal, the shepherd who honors thee, may live. Hear his prayer. Establish in goodness the foundation of his royal throne. Forever may he guide the scepter of his people.

The Babylonian original has a colophon directing that the hymn be used on the eleventh day of Nisan, the first month of the new year, when Marduk entered his own especial sanctuary in the temple of E-sagila. As we shall see again and again through the psalm comes the word "Rest" or "Peace," which is but an abbreviation of the old formula of the incantation texts, "May thy heart be appeased." In these days at the beginning of the new year Marduk, surrounded by his court, was wont to establish and decree the fates for the year. It is as an appeal

¹ The original text, IV R., 2d edition, 18, No. 2. Translated by Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i, 503ff.

² See *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 9, and Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, pp. 36-41, pl. 13, 14.

to him for mercy and tenderness and goodness during the new year that this hymn is indited:

O Lord, on thine entrance into thy house, may thy house rejoice in thee.

Mighty lord Marduk, on thine entrance into thy house, may thy house rejoice in thee.¹

Great warrior, lord En-bi-lu-lu [that is, lord that commands mankind], on thine entrance into thy house, may thy house rejoice in thee.

Rest, O lord, rest, O lord, may thy house rejoice in thee.

Rest, lord of Babylon, may thy house rejoice in thee.

Rest, lord of E-sagila, may thy house rejoice in thee.

Rest, lord of E-zida,² may thy house rejoice in thee.

Rest, lord of E-makhtila,³ may thy house rejoice in thee.

E-sagila, the house of thy lordship, may thy house rejoice in thee.

Thy city cries out to thee, "Rest," may thy house rejoice in thee.

Babylon cries out to thee, "Rest," may thy house rejoice in thee.

The great Anu, father of the gods, cries out to thee, "Rest at last."

May the mighty mountain,⁴ father Bel,⁵ cry to thee, "Rest at last."

The queen of city and house, the great mother Belit, cry to thee, "Rest at last."

Ninib, the firstborn of Bel, with the exalted armor of Anu, cry to thee, "Rest at last."

Sin, the light of heaven and earth, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

¹ In the second line, and thereafter only the word "house" is repeated, the rest of the formula being mentally supplied from the first line.

² *E-zida*, the temple of Nabu in Borsippa, also the name of a sanctuary of Nabu in the temple of E-sagila.

³ *E-makhtila*, a temple or chapel of Nabu (Nebo) in Borsippa.

⁴ *Mighty mountain*, the home of the gods.

⁵ Father Bel is Ellil, the elder Bel of Nippur.

The strong hero, Shamash, son of Nin-gal, cry to thee
 "Peace at last."

Ea, king of the deep, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

Damkina, queen of the deep, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

Sarpanitum, the daughter-in-law of the deep,

The true messenger, Nabu, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

The daughter-in-law, firstborn of Ib, cry to thee, "Peace
 at last."

. Tashmitum, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

The Lord Madanu, the overseer of the Anunnaki, cry to
 thee, "Peace at last."

The exalted great lady, Nanâ, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

Bau, the gracious consort, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

Adad, beloved son of Anu, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

Shala, the great lady, cry to thee, "Peace at last."

The lord, possessor of power, who dwells in E-kur, may
 the courage of thy godhead be appeased.

Lord of the gods art thou, may the gods of heaven and
 earth appease thine anger.

Thy city, Nippur, cast not away. Let them cry to thee,
 "O lord, peace."

Sippar cast not away. Let her cry to thee, "O lord,
 peace."

Babylon, the city of thy peace, cast not away. Let her
 cry to thee, "O lord, peace."

Look graciously upon thy house. Look graciously upon
 thy city. Let them cry to thee, "O lord, peace."

Look graciously upon Babylon and E-sagila. Let them
 cry to thee, "O lord, peace."

The bolt of Babylon, the lock of E-sagila, the defense of
 E-zida,

Bring back to their places, the gods of heaven and earth.
 Let them cry to thee, "O lord, peace."

In this hymn every line is divided with a little
 stroke that the eye may at a glance see the way

in which the hymn was to be sung antiphonally. The priest pronounced the words of the first half of the line, in all probability, and then the choir responded with the refrain. As Jastrow has pointed out, this affords a most interesting parallel to the great Hallel Psalms¹ of the Hebrew Psalter. It would perhaps be quite safe to suppose that the priests who composed them had ringing in their ears the sounds of the praises of Marduk by his priests.

The third division of the sacred literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians is composed of penitential psalms. These resemble the psalms of the Old Testament, even though it be afar off, in many particulars. They represent, in the first place, a note of penitence for sin, which is conceived as the real cause of all suffering and sorrow, quite as in the Psalter. They are also, like the Old Testament psalms, individualistic in tone, though afterward, like the Psalter again, adapted to public religious use. In many of them we can distinguish the portion intended for recitation by the penitent, and the portion to be recited by the priest, who encourages him to hope and trust in his god. The sin which drives the penitent to these prayers runs all the way from moral wrongdoing to the merest ceremonial uncleanness. One can feel, even at this long distance of time and remoteness of spiritual fellowship, the real pang of concern for real

¹ The Hallel Psalms are 113-118.

moral uncleanness which sounds in some of these psalms. But even in these there is a mingling of the blurred sounds of exorcism with the spiritual note of real religious life. And it must not be forgotten that there seems to run through them all as a very basal idea the desire to be delivered from some bodily distress or disease. Sin is viewed in them not quite in the Old Testament sense, as sin *per se*, but in the lower sense, as something to be forgiven before healing can be had of bodily disease. The air that blew over the great plains of Babylonia was not quite the same as that which swept over Bethel or Jerusalem.

A considerable number of these psalms have come down to us addressed to Shamash, Ninib, Ishtar, Marduk, and yet other gods and goddesses. Some of them containing fine words of adoration and appeal. Here are a few words addressed to Ishtar:

I, thy servant, full of sighs, call upon thee.
The fervent prayer of him who has sinned do thou accept.
If thou lookest upon a man, that man liveth,
O powerful mistress of mankind,
Merciful one to whom it is good to turn, who accepts sighs.

But the noblest and most beautiful of all the penitential psalms ought here to find a place; for the quoting of many is impossible under these limits. The one which seems to me to represent better than any other the highest point attained by the religion of these people is

an anonymous psalm,¹ a psalm which might be addressed to any god that the worshiper might know and choose, or which might be spoken out into the unseen, if the penitent did not know against what god he had committed an offense:

The anger of the lord, may it be appeased.²

The god that I know not, be appeased.

The goddess that I know not, be appeased.

The god, known or unknown, be appeased.

The heart of my god, be appeased.

The heart of my goddess, be appeased.

The anger of the god and of my goddess, be appeased.

The god, who is angry against me, be appeased.

A transgression against a god I knew not, I have committed.

A transgression against a goddess I knew not, I have committed.

A gracious name, may the god I knew not, name.

A gracious name, may the goddess I knew not, name.

A gracious name, may the god known or unknown, name.

The pure food of my god have I unwittingly eaten.

The clear water of my goddess I have unwittingly drunken.

The taboo of my god I have unwittingly eaten.

To an offense against my goddess I have unwittingly walked.

O lord, my transgressions are many, great are my sins,

My god, my transgressions are many, great are my sins,

O goddess, known or unknown, my transgressions are many, great are my sins,

¹ IV R., 10. Very frequently translated, among others by Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 419-241; Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, pp. 611ff.; Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii, 101ff.

² Literally, return to its place, that is, come to rest, to peace.

The transgression that I have committed, I know not,
The sin that I have wrought, I know not.
The taboo, that I have eaten, I know not.
The offense, into which I walked, I know not.
The lord, in the wrath of his heart, has regarded me.
The god, in the anger of his heart, has surrounded me.
The goddess, who is angry against me, hath made me like
a sick man,
A god, known or unknown, hath oppressed me,
A goddess, known or unknown, has wrought me sorrow.
I sought for help, but none took my hand,
I wept, but none came to my side,
I cried aloud, and there was none that heard me.
I am full of trouble, overpowered, and dare not look up.
To my merciful god I turn, I utter my prayer,
The feet of my goddess I kiss, I touch them,
To the god, known or unknown, I turn, I utter my prayer.
To the goddess, known or unknown, I turn, I utter my
prayer.
O lord, turn thy face to me, receive my prayer.
O goddess, turn graciously to me, receive my prayer.
O god, known or unknown, turn thy face to me, receive
my prayer.
O goddess, known or unknown, turn graciously to me,
receive my prayer.
How long, O my god, let thy heart be appeased.
How long, O my goddess, let thy heart be appeased.
O god, known or unknown, let thy heart's anger return to
its place.
O goddess, known or unknown, let thy hostile heart re-
turn to its place.
Mankind are foolish, and there is none that knoweth.
So many are they—who knoweth aught?
Whether they do evil or good, no one knoweth.
O lord, cast not away thy servant.
In the waters of mire he lies, seize his hand!
The sins, that I have done, turn to a blessing.

The transgression, which I have committed, may the wind bear away.

My manifold transgressions strip off like a garment.

O my god, my transgressions are seven times seven, forgive my transgressions.

O my goddess, my transgressions are seven times seven, forgive my transgressions.

O god, known or unknown, my transgressions are seven times seven, forgive my transgressions.

O goddess, known or unknown, my transgressions are seven times seven, forgive my transgressions,

Forgive my transgression, for I humble myself before thee.

Thy heart, like a mother's, may it return to its place,

Like a mother that hath borne children, like a father that hath begotten them, may it turn again to its place.

In this the human heart speaks. Here are the words of a man who had known sin and its smitings, but to him there was no such clear course to the mercy and forgiveness of a heavenly Father as lay open and plain before that wonderful company of singers whose songs have been garnered into Israel's Psalter.

With these prayers of a penitent we come to the end of the sacred books of the Babylonians and Assyrians. These are really books of religious faith and yearning, and it was surely not without His prompting that the best of them burst out of human hearts in far-away Babylonia. For God hath "made of one every nation of men . . . ; that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he is not far from each one of us."¹

¹ Acts 17. 26, 27.

LECTURE V

THE MYTHS AND EPICS

THE gods of the Babylonians are known to us not only in the great hymns of praise which were sung to their mighty names, or in incantations wherein they were besought to drive out evil demons and restore the boon of good health; they are known even more in that immense mythology, of which we already possess so much that several lectures ought to be given to it. Moving as some of the hymns surely are, they nevertheless have little of the human interest which belongs to the story. All the world loves the story-teller, and these stories in which gods and demons and men walk and talk together possess even to this day a fascination all their own. We cannot, indeed, use them as sources for the reconstruction of the theological system, for they have all been subject to change, the story itself running away from the speculations among which it took its rise. We cannot distinguish the part that is original from that which the author or his school added to it. The old ideas may still be in hiding beneath the literary color, or they may all have been explained away by the mediating tendencies of a later age.

But however useless as sources of theology, there can be no doubt of their interest to all students of religion, and especially to all students of the Old Testament, for it is easy to see that some of them, at least, have flowed over their natural boundaries and found new channels amid the kindred people of Israel.

For the most part the Babylonian poems of mythical character have a god or hero about whom the little story revolves; when this central figure is surrounded by other gods or heroes whose deeds or adventures move around him, or interweave with his, the poem has become an epic.

Many of the short stories and some of the larger epics have come down to us, but they apparently form only a small portion of the great literature that once existed. A catalogue of such works was found in the library of Ashurbanipal, on which we find the titles of several which have been recovered in modern times, such as, "The Story of Gilgames," "The Story of Etana," "The Story of the Fox," "The Story of the Ox and of the Horse," the royal legend of "Sargon the powerful king," all of which are more or less known to us. But in the same list we read of "The powerful Bull," "When the Euphrates arose," "Adapa came to [Nippur?]," "When Marduk in Sumer and Akkad," none of which have come down to us even in fragments.

The largest part of the myths and epics which have been preserved for us came from the library of Ashurbanipal, and the originals from which they were copied have not yet been found. There is always the hope that they may yet be recovered when the numerous city mounds in Babylonia are excavated. It would be interesting to have the originals for comparison, in order to see how far they may have been changed in the process of editing and copying.

Among the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, about 1400 B.C., we have recovered portions of the story of Nerigal and Ereshkigal¹ and the chief portions of the Adapa story. From the period of the first Babylonian dynasty, about 2000 B.C., we have recovered portions of the Atrahasis myth, the Gilgames epic, and the deluge story. But all the epics and myths which belong to the Ashurbanipal library may, with reasonable certainty, be traced back in their origin to that same wonderful period of intellectual and political development, distinguished for us chiefly by the great name of Hammurabi.

¹ The very fragmentary text is published by Bezold and Budge, *The Tell-el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum* (London, 1892), plate 17; compare Bezold in *Oriental Diplomaey*, No. 82. Winckler and Abel, *Der Thontafelfund von el Amarna* (Berlin, 1889, 1890), pp. 164ff.; compare Knudtzon, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, iv, pp. 130ff. It is translated by Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 74ff. Compare also Zimmermann, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 583f. It will appear again in a revised transliteration and translation by Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek)* No. 357, but it has not yet been published (Oct., 1908).

And now how shall we choose from these rich storehouses of myth and story, too numerous to quote in full, too many even to tell in outline? Let us begin with the story of Adapa:¹

He possessed intelligence

His command, like the command of Anu, *stands for aye*.

Ea granted him also a wide ear² to reveal the destiny of the land,

He granted him wisdom, but he did not grant him eternal life.

This semi-divine being Adapa, son of Ea, serves in Ea's temple at Eridu, supplying the ritual bread and water. One day, while fishing in the sea, the south wind swept sharply upon him, overturned his boat, and he fell into the sea, the "house of the fishes." Angered by his misfortune, he broke the wings of the south wind, and for seven days it was unable to bring the comfort of the sea coolness over the hot land. And Anu said:

"Why has the south wind for seven days not blown over the land?"

His messenger Ilabrat answered him: "My lord, Adapa, the son of Ea, hath broken the wing of The south wind."

¹ The chief portions, in a fragmentary condition, come from the Tell-el-Amarna collection. Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 92ff.; see also in Vorwort, pp. xviiif. Translation and also the original texts in Scheil, *Recueil*, xx, pp. 4ff. Zimmern in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ii, 165ff. *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., p. 520ff. Jeremiah in Roscher, *Lexicon*, iii, 2357, and also in *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 2te Auf., p. 168. Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 148ff.

² "A wide ear" is a frequent metaphor for "understanding."

Then Anu ordered the culprit brought before him, and before he departed to this ordeal Ea gave him instructions. He is to go up to the gatekeepers of heaven, Tammuz and Gish-zida, clad in mourning garb to excite their sympathy. When they ask why he is thus attired he is to tell them that his mourning is for two gods of earth who have disappeared (that is, themselves), and then they will intercede for him. Furthermore, he is cautioned not to eat the food or drink the water that will be set before him, for Ea fears that food and water of death will be set before him to destroy him. But exactly the opposite happened. Tammuz and Gish-zida prevailed in pleading, and Anu said:

“Bring for him food of life that he may eat it.” They brought him food of life, but he did not eat—They brought him water of life, but he did not drink. They brought him a garment; he put it on. They brought him oil; he anointed himself with it.

Adapa had obeyed Ea literally, and by so doing had missed the priceless boon of immortality.

For us the beautiful myth is interesting as showing how similar are certain ideas and motives in the literatures of Israel and Babylonia. There is, indeed, no relationship between the name Adapa and the name Adam, as has been supposed by some, but Adapa served as a type of mankind, as does Adam,

and the "food of life" seems to belong to the same category as the "tree of life" in Genesis. In Babylonia there appears to have been a doctrine that man, though of divine origin, made of Marduk's own bone and blood, nevertheless did not share in the divine attribute of immortality. Adam lost immortality because he desired to become like God; Adapa, on the other hand, was already endowed with knowledge and wisdom, and failed of immortality not because he was disobedient, like Adam, but because he was obedient to Ea, his creator. The legend is the Babylonian attempt to explain death; Adapa did not secure immortality, and no mortal has ever again had the opportunity to attain it. Adam was banished from the garden of Eden "lest he should put forth his hand, and take of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever,"¹ while in the Babylonian myth Anu really desired to confer immortality upon Adapa because he thought it not fitting that he should have the wisdom of the gods and yet fail of their immortality. As Sayce has well said, "Babylonian polytheism allowed the existence of divided counsels among the gods; the monotheism of Israel made this impossible. There was no second Jahweh to act in contradiction to the first; Jahweh was at once the creator of man and the God of heaven, and there was none to dispute his will. There is no room for

¹ Gen. 3. 22.



FIGURE XV.—THE DESCENT OF ISHTAR TO HADES
Assyrian Clay Tablet in the British Museum
Size of the original, $9\frac{7}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches
OBVERSE

Anu in the book of Genesis; and as Ea, the creator of Adapa, was unwilling that the man he had created should become an immortal god, so Jahweh, the creator of Adam, similarly denied to him the food of immortal life."¹

If the myth of Adapa is interesting in the story itself, and also in its revelation of the Babylonian ideas of the immortal life, the story of Ishtar's descent into the abode of the dead is still more illuminating as revealing the popular ideas as well as the theological conceptions of the abode of the dead. The story is so important in so many ways that we shall do well to have it before us in translation instead of in mere paraphrase²:

To the land of No-return, the earth
 Ishtar, the daughter of Sin, directed her thought,³
 The daughter of Sin directed her thought,
 To the house of darkness, Irkalla's dwelling place,
 5 To the house from which he who enters never returns,
 To the road whose path turns not back,
 To the house where he who enters is deprived of
 light,
 Where dust is their sustenance, their food clay,
 Light they see not, in darkness do they sit,

¹ Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 385.

² The original text is in IV R., 2d edition, 31, and in *Cuneiform Texts*, xv, pl. 45-48. A. Jeremias, in Roscher, *Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, iii, 1, col. 258ff.; also by the same, *Hölle und Paradies, Der Alte Orient*, i, 3te Aufl. Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1. pp. 80ff. Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Aufl., pp. 561ff. Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babyloniens*, pp. 326ff.

³ Literally, placed her ear.

- 10 They are clothed like a bird, with wings as a covering,
Over door and bolt is spread the dust.
Ishtar, when she came to the door of land of No-
return,
Addressed the word to the porter of the door:
"O porter, open the door,
- 15 Open the door that I may enter.
If thou dost not open the door, and I enter not,
I will shatter the door, I will break the bolt,
I will shatter the threshold, I will tear down the
doors,
I will bring up the dead that they may eat and live,
- 20 The dead more numerous than the living shall return."
The porter opened his mouth and spake,
He spake to the great Ishtar:
"Patience, my lady, do not destroy,
I will go, I will announce thy name to my sovereign,
Ereshkigal."
- 25 The porter went within, he spake to Ereshkigal:
"It is thy sister Ishtar
The enmity of the great houses of joy"
When Ereshkigal heard that
As when one cuts down the tamarisk,
- 30 As when one breaks the reed she said:
"What does her heart wish of me? Why has her
wind borne her to me?
These waters have I with
For food I eat the clay, for drink will I drink
I will weep for the men who have left their wives,
- 35 I will weep for the women torn from their master's
bosom,
I will weep for the little children snatched away
before their day.
Go, porter, open the gate,
Do unto her according to the ancient custom."
The porter went and opened for her his gate:

40 "Enter, my lady, Cutha¹ greets thee.

May the palace of the land of No-return be glad at thy presence."

As she passes through the seven gates of this lower world the various articles of her clothing are taken away. At the first gate her crown is removed, at the next her earrings, at the third her necklace, then her breastplate, then her studded girdle, at the sixth her hand and foot ornaments, and at the seventh her loincloth, so that she enters the presence of Ereshkigal quite nude. There no mercy was shown her; she was afflicted with sixty diseases, and was imprisoned like the ordinary dead. While thus in bondage beneath, the world above fell into hopeless disorder, neither cattle nor men produced offspring, and the fertility of the land ceased.

REVERSE:

Pap-sukal, the messenger of the great gods, with countenance downcast before Shamash,

Was clad in sackcloth, he wore a dark vestment.

Shamash came into the presence of Sin, his father, weeping,

In the presence of Ea, the king, his tears ran down.

5 "Ishtar has gone down into the earth, and she has not returned."

Ea created Asushunamir, and before him the gates of Hades opened, he sprinkled Ishtar with

¹ An important city of southern Babylonia, the seat of the worship of Nergal, and hence a poetical designation of the lower world.

the water of life, and then she returned to the upper world, receiving at each gate upon her return the objects of adornment which she had left upon her entrance. It is a rather gloomy future life that the poem reveals, but we shall do well to heed the caution, already expressed, that these myths are not to be taken as theological sources. The view of the abode of the dead, as held by intelligent Babylonians, may have been very different, even at the same time that this interesting and beautiful poem was most highly esteemed.

The greatest of all the stories of Babylonia is the story of Gilgames,¹ for in it the greatest of the myths seem to pour into one great stream of epic. It was written upon twelve big tablets in the library of Ashurbanipal, which have unfortunately been much broken in the crash of time. It was copied from older tablets, and, like most of the best mythological literature, goes back to the earliest dynasty of Babylon.

The first tablet introduces Gilgames as the great hero with a number of mighty deeds to

¹ The original text of the Gilgames Epic is published in Haupt, *Das Babylonische Nimrod-Epos*. Compare also *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, i, 49ff., 97ff. See also IV R., 2d edition, 41-44. Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod, eine altbabylonische Beschwörungslegende*. Leipzig, 1891. Sauveplane, *Une Épopée babylonienne*, in *Revue des Religions*, 1892, pp. 37ff. Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi, 1, pp. 116ff. and 421ff. Dhorme, *Choix de Textes Religieux Assyro-Babylonienne*, pp. 182ff. On the eleventh tablet the literature is extensive; I mention here only the following, from which the rest of the literature may be sought out: Zimmern in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 423ff.; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, 2te Auf., pp. 84ff.

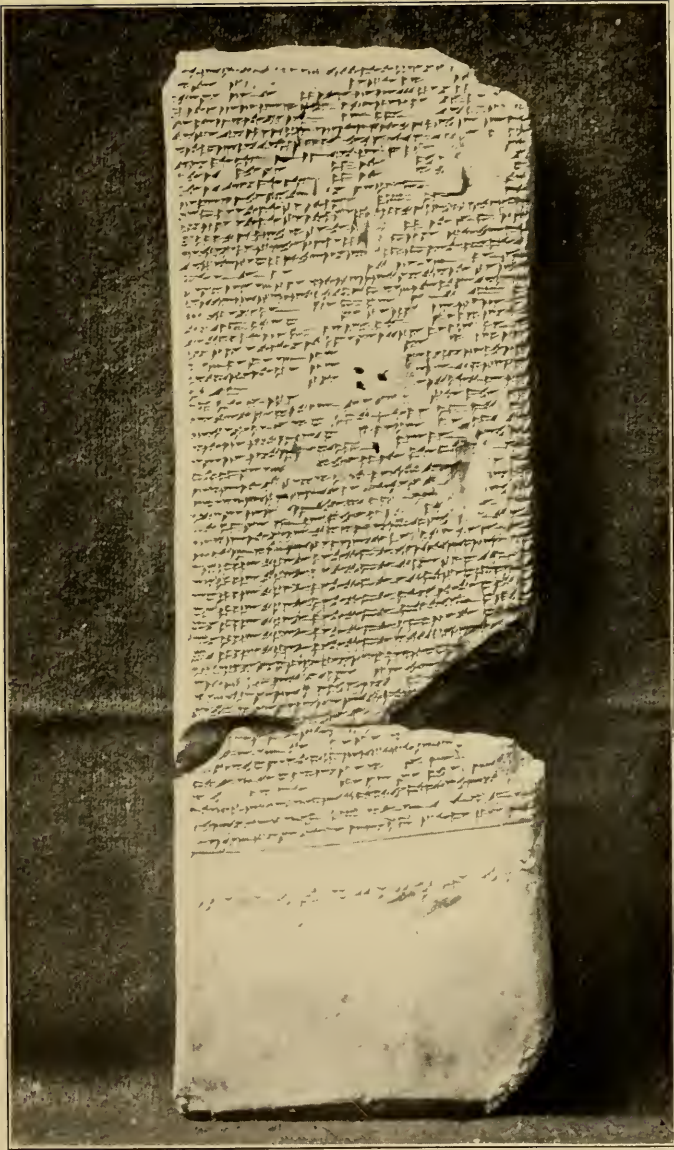


FIGURE XVI.—THE DESCENT OF ISHTAR TO HADES
REVERSE

his honor. In Uruk he is the ruler, and impresses all the young men into the hard labor of building the city walls. The whole city complains, and their cries rise even unto the heavenly gods, against their unpopular king. They besought the goddess Aruru, who had created Gilgames, to create a rival for him, that he might draw the attention of the tyrant to other things.

COLUMN II:

When Aruru heard this, she made in her heart a man after the likeness of Anu.

Aruru washed her hands, took a piece of clay, and cast it on the ground.

35 Eabani she created, the hero, a lofty offspring, a ruler of Ninib.

His whole body is covered with hair; he had long hair on his head like a woman.

The hair of his head swept like the grain.

He knew not people and land. He was dressed in garments like Gir. With the gazelles he ate the herbs,

40 He quenched his thirst with the beasts,

With the beasts his heart rejoiced in the water.

In this free life among the beasts Eabani came in conflict with a huntsman, who complained to his father and then to Gilgames. On the advice of these two the hunter took with him a maiden whose charms enchained Eabani and induced him to follow her to Uruk. There he met Gilgames, and the first tablet concludes with the beginning of friendship between them.

The beginning of the second tablet is so badly broken that fifty lines are wanting. From some fragments we are able to make out that Gilgames was unhappy because he could see that Eabani was yearning for the wide field and the friendly beasts, and was cursing the harlot that had enticed him away from them. But the sun god Shamash called to him out of heaven that she had brought him only to good, to divine food and royal drink and festival garb, and to Gilgames who would give him the highest place in Uruk by himself. Then a terrible dream comes to Eabani, a dream which betokens his own speedy death. The nether world appears before him as a land of darkness and gloom, as it did in the story of Ishtar which we have just been reading. The tablet concludes with an account of a journey which Gilgames and Eabani are to undertake. In the third tablet, which has also come down in a badly broken condition, Gilgames seeks blessings on the journey to the cedar mountain in the east, where Khumbaba is the warder. In the fourth tablet Khumbaba is described; and his fearful voice so terrifies Eabani that Gilgames must reassure him before he will take up the journey again. In the fifth tablet we read how Gilgames and Eabani came at last to the great cedar mountain. There they stood, filled with wonder at the high cedar tree of which Khumbaba was the warder. The cedar moun-

tain is the home of the gods, and above all of Ishtar. There again did Eabani dream, and Gilgames interpreted his dreams as of good augury for their contest with Khumbaba. At the end of the tablet their victory over the keeper of the forest is told. In tablet six we reach a climax in the story. Ishtar is overcome with love for the hero, so strong in his beauty, and appeals to him to become her husband. He spurns her advances, and reminds her that it had fared ill with her former husbands, who were dead, and a like fate he fears for himself if he should accept her offer of marriage. Ishtar is filled with rage and chagrin, and mounting up to heaven appears before Anu and Antum, beseeching the great god to create a heaven-bull who shall destroy Gilgames. But the bull goes down to destruction before the two heroes, and Gilgames and Eabani return to Erech to be received by the inhabitants in a burst of joyous acclaim.

Who is beautiful among men?

Who is glorious among heroes?

Gilgames is beautiful among men,

Gilgames is glorious among heroes.

Gilgames makes a feast in his palace, but when men lie down to sweet sleep Eabani again sees a vision in his sleep. In the seventh tablet, of which only a small portion remains, we hear of a sore illness of Eabani, which is described further in the eighth tablet, and then comes his

death, and the terrible lament of Gilgames. In the ninth tablet Gilgames laments his friend and goes away into the wilderness, fearful lest a similar fate befall himself, and anxious to find his ancestor Ut-napishtim, who had long since been carried away to the life beyond. The journey lies over mountains, perhaps the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon range, where scorpion-men bar the way. At first the scorpion-man advises against the mad enterprise, but at length encourages him to go on. Over the mountains he makes his way, and at length comes out to a park of the gods, which seems to have been situated on the side of the Mediterranean Sea on the Phœnician coast. There he finds the goddess Siduri-Sabitu, seated upon the throne of the sea, and threatens to break down her barred doors if she does not admit him. Once admitted, the goddess inquires why he looks so distraught, and why he has wandered so far. He tells her the story of Eabani's great deeds, and of his death, and of how he, fearing that he also would so die and never rise again, had set out upon this journey. He asks her the way to Ut-napishtim, and how he could go. She warns him that the way thither leads over the great sea of death, a journey that none but Shamash, the sun god, may make; but at last tells him of the sailor of Ut-napishtim, who may perhaps be induced to help him over the sea thither. The sailor takes him on

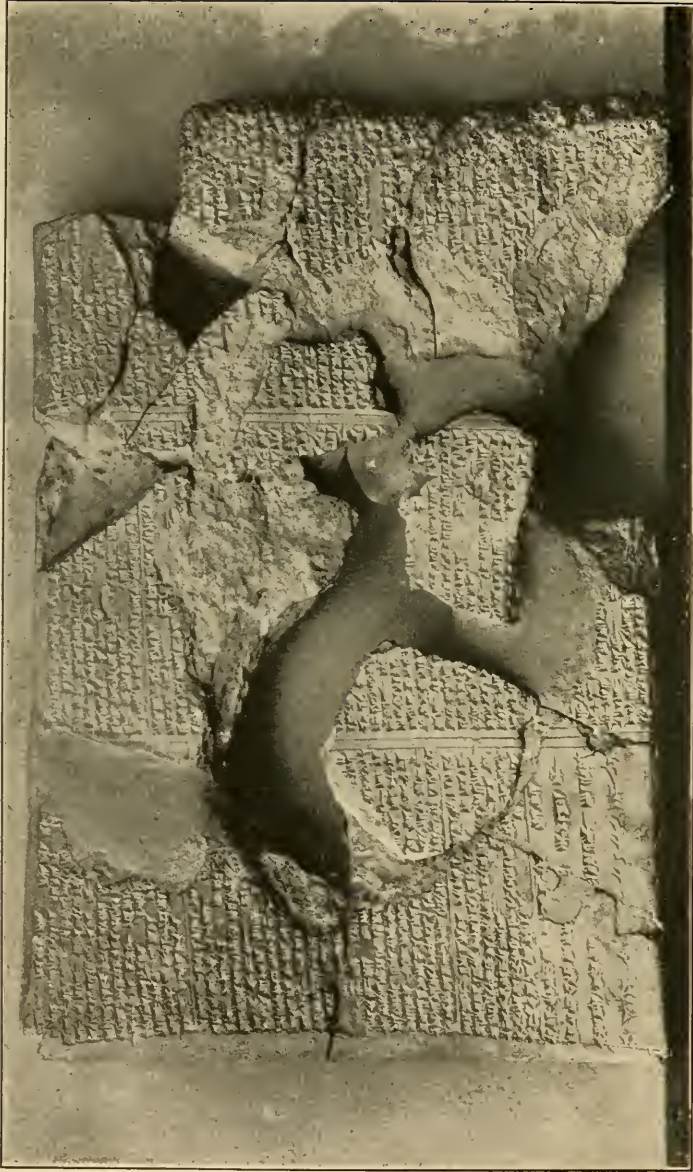


FIGURE XVII.—THE STORY OF THE DELUGE
Fragmentary Clay Tablet in the British Museum, K. 2252 + K. 2602 + K. 3321 + K. 4486 + Sm. 1881
Size of the original, $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches

OBVERSE

A portion of the story appears in the duplicate tablet, Figures XIX and XX

the journey, and after three days they surprise Ut-napishtim, who asks the same questions as Sabitu concerning his appearance and his journey, which are answered by Gilgames with the same account of Eabani. After this there comes a most unfortunate break in the tablet, and then its concluding lines. The eleventh tablet begins with a continuation of the dialogue between Ut-napishtim and Gilgames, and soon we are swept out into the great story of the deluge:

Gilgames said to him, to Ut-napishtim, the far-away:

"I consider thee, O Ut-napishtim,

Thy appearance is not changed, thou art like me,

Thou art not different, thou art like me.

5 Thy heart is in perfect state, to make a combat,

Thou dost lie down upon thy side, and upon thy
back.

Tell me, how hast thou been exalted, and amid the
assembly of the gods hast found life?"

Ut-napishtim spoke to him, to Gilgames:

"I will reveal to thee, O Gilgames, the hidden word,

10 And the decision of the gods will I announce to thee."

And now begins the story of the flood, noblest and most beautiful of all the stories which this gifted people have written:

Shurippak, a city which thou knowest,

Which lies on the bank of the Euphrates.

That city was very old, and the heart of the gods

Within it drove them to send a flood, the great gods;

15 There were their father Anu,

Their counselor the warrior Bel,

- Their messenger Ninib,
 Their director Ennugi.
 The lord of wisdom, Ea, counseled with them
 20 And repeated their word to the reed-hut:
 "O reed-hut, reed-hut, O wall, wall,
 O reed-hut, hearken, O wall, attend!"

These rather curious and difficult lines seem to mean that the house of Ut-napishtim is addressed directly by the god Ea, and then the man himself. This is an interesting variant from the later statement in the same poem (see line 196) that a dream was the means of communication. Berossus also says that Kronos appeared to him in sleep and revealed the deluge. And now comes the direct address to him:

- "O man of Shurippak, son of Ubaratutu,
 Pull down thy house, build a ship,
 25 Leave thy possessions, take thought for thy life,
 Thy property abandon, save thy life,
 Bring living seed of every kind into the ship.
 The ship that thou shalt build,
 So shall be the measure of its dimensions,
 30 Thus shall correspond its breadth and height,
 Into the ocean let it fare."
 I understood it, and spake to Ea, my lord,
 ".", my lord, as thou hast commanded
 I will observe, and will execute it.
 35 But what shall I say to the city, the people and the
 elders?"
 Ea opened his mouth and spake,
 He said unto me his servant,
 "Thou shalt so say unto them,
 'Because Bel hates me,

40 No longer may I dwell in your city, nor remain on
Bel's earth.

Into the ocean must I fare, with Ea, my lord, to
dwell.' "

The god who is here represented as causing the flood is the older Bel, whose name was Ellil, the god of Nippur; but the story as it has come down to us is a later recension in which other gods, notably Adad, who belongs to a later theological development, have been introduced. Professor Jastrow is clearly right in seeing the evidences of two separate versions combined into one. In one of these Shurippak was the object of the god's anger, in the other the flood was universal; in one probably Ellil alone caused the flood, in the other a council of the gods was called to decide the matter. The latter part of the first tablet is badly broken, and is also comparatively unimportant for the main story. I begin the translation again with the second tablet, which describes the building of the ship:

120 cubits high were its sides,
140 cubits reached the edge of its roof,
60 I traced its hull, I designed it
I built it in six stories,
I divided it in seven parts.
Its interior I divided into nine parts.
I strengthened it within against the water.
65 I prepared a rudder, and laid down the tackle.
Three *sars* of bitumen I poured over the outside (?),
Three *sars* of bitumen I poured over the inside,

- Three *sars* of oil the stevedores brought up.
 Besides a *sar* of oil which men use as a libation,
 70 The shipbuilder used two *sars* of oil.
 For the people I slaughtered a bullock,
 I slew lambs daily.
 Of must, beer, oil, and wine
 I gave the people to drink like water from the river.
 75 A festival I made, like the days of the feast of Aqitu.¹
- 81 With all that I had I filled it (the ship).
 With all that I had of silver I filled it.
 With all that I had of gold I filled it.
 With all that I had of living things I filled it.
- 85 I brought up into the ship my family and household,
 The cattle of the field, the beasts of the field, crafts-
 men all of them I brought in.
 A fixed time had Shamash appointed, (saying,)
 "When the ruler of darkness sends a heavy rain,
 Then enter into the ship and close the door."
- 90 The appointed time came near,
 The rulers of the *kukku* in the evening sent heavy
 rain.
 The dawning of that day I feared,
 I feared to behold that day.
 I entered the ship and closed the door.
- 95 To the ship's master, to Puzur-Bel, the sailor,
 I intrusted the building with its goods.
 When the first flush of dawn appeared
 There came up from the horizon a black cloud.
 Adad thundered within it,
- 100 While Nabu and Marduk went before.
 They go as messengers over mountain and valley.
 Nergal bore away the anchor.
 Ninib advances, the storm he makes to descend.
 The Anunnaki lifted up their torches,

¹ *Aqitu*, the New Year's Feast.

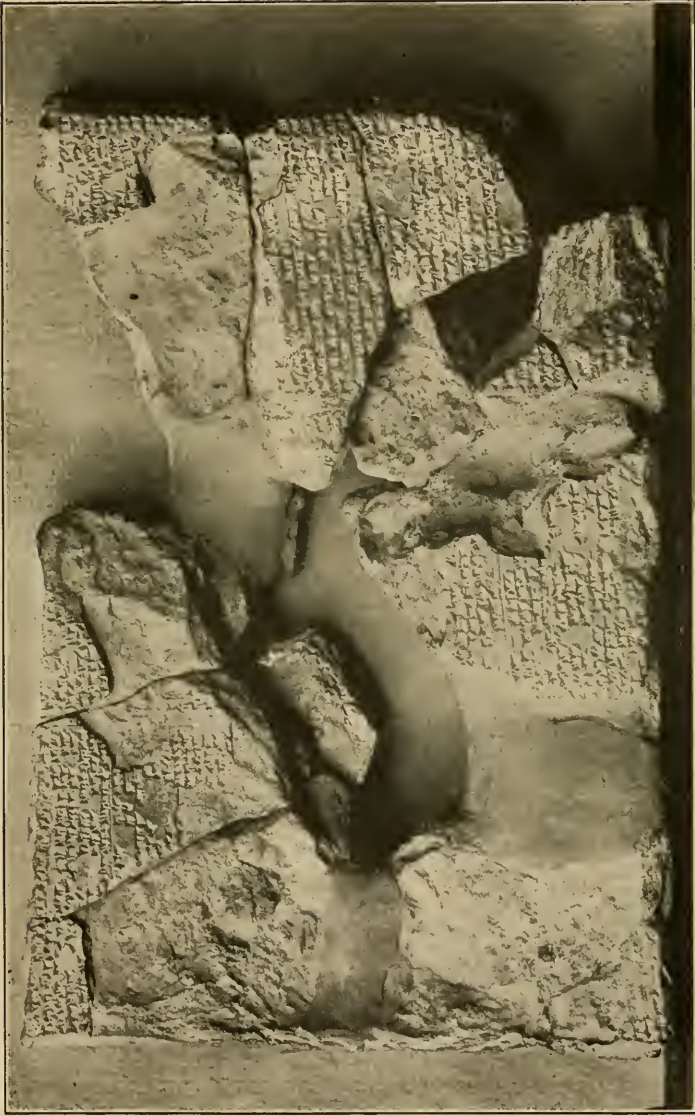


FIGURE XVIII.—THE STORY OF THE DELUGE
REVERSE
A duplicate of Figures XIX and XX

- 105 With their brightness they light up the land.
 Adad's storm reached unto heaven,
 All light was turned unto darkness,
 It [flooded] the land like
 the storm
- 110 Raged high, [the water climbed over] the mountains,
 Like a besom of destruction they brought it upon men,
 No man beheld his fellow,
 No more were men recognized in heaven.
 The gods feared the deluge,
- 115 They drew back, they climbed up to the heaven of
 Anu.
 The gods crouched like a dog, they cowered by the
 wall.
 Ishtar cried like a woman in travail,
 The queen of the gods cried with a loud voice:
 "The former race is turned to clay,
- 120 Since I commanded evil in the assembly of the gods.
 When I commanded evil in the assembly of the gods,
 For the destruction of my people I commanded a
 combat.
 That which I brought forth, where is it?
 Like the spawn of fish it fills the sea."
- 125 The gods of the Anunnaki wept with her,
 The gods sat bowed and weeping,
 Covered were their lips.
 Six days and nights
 Blew the wind, the deluge and the tempest over-
 whelmed the land.
- 130 When the seventh day drew nigh, the tempest ceased;
 the deluge,
 Which had fought like an army, ended.
 Then rested the sea, the storm fell asleep, the flood
 ceased.
 I looked upon the sea, while I sent forth my wail.
 All mankind was turned to clay.

- 135 Like a swamp the field lay before me.¹
 I opened the window and the light fell upon my face,
 I bowed, I sat down, I wept,
 And over my face ran my tears.
 I looked upon the world, all was sea.
- 140 After twelve days(?)² the land emerged.
 To the land of Nisir the ship made its way,
 The mount of Nisir held it fast, that it moved not.
 One day, a second day did the mount of Nisir hold it.
 A third day, a fourth day did the mount of Nisir
 hold it.
- 145 A fifth day, a sixth day did the mount of Nisir hold it.
 When the seventh day approached
 I sent forth a dove and let her go.
 The dove flew to and fro,
 But there was no resting place and she returned.
- 150 I sent forth a swallow and let her go,
 The swallow flew to and fro,
 But there was no resting place and she returned.
 I sent forth a raven and let her go,
 The raven flew away, she saw the abatement of the
 waters,
- 155 She drew near, she waded(?), she croaked, and came
 not back.
 Then I sent everything forth to the four quarters of
 heaven, I offered sacrifice,
 I made a libation upon the mountain's peak.

¹ The line is at present, at least, hopelessly difficult and doubtful. The translations offered diverge widely, of which these may serve as specimens:

Sowie das Tageslicht herangekommen war, betete ich. (Jensen.)

Wie uri breitete sich aus vor mir das Gefild. (Winckler, Jeremias.)

Jusqu' aux toits atteignait le marais. (Dhorme.)

Like the surrounding field had become the bed of the rivers. (Muss-Arnolt.)

In place of fields there lay before me a swamp. (King.)

² Very doubtful. Many solutions have been proposed. Twelve double hours(?) (Jeremias).

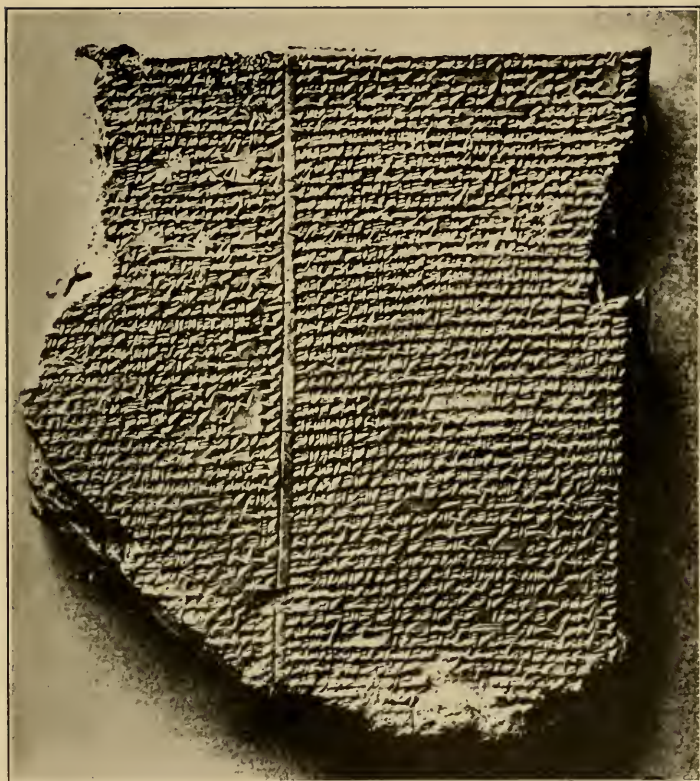


FIGURE XIX.—THE STORY OF THE DELUGE

Assyrian Clay Tablet in the British Museum

Size of the original, $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches

OBVERSE

A duplicate of Figures XVII and XVIII

- By sevens I set out the sacrificial vessels,
 Beneath them I heaped up reed and cedar wood and
 myrtle.
- 160 The gods smelt the savor,
 The gods smelt the sweet savor,
 The gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer.
 When at last the Lady of the gods drew near
 She raised the rich jewels, which Anu, according to
 her wish, had made.
- 165 "These days, by the jewels about my neck, I shall
 not forget.
 Upon these days shall I think, I shall never forget
 them.¹
 Let the gods come to the offering,
 But let Bel come not to the offering,
 For he took not counsel, and sent the deluge,
- 170 And my people he gave to destruction."
 When at last Bel drew near
 He saw the ship; then was Bel wroth,
 He was filled with anger against the gods of the
 Igigi:
 "Who then has escaped with life?
- 175 No man must live in the destruction!"
 Then Ninib opened his mouth and spake,
 He said to the warrior Bel:
 "Who but Ea created things,
 And Ea knoweth every matter."
- 180 Ea opened his mouth, and spake,
 He spake to the warrior Bel:
 "Thou spokesman among the gods, warrior Bel,
 Because thou wert ill-advised, didst thou send a
 flood.
 On the sinner lay his sin,

¹ In the Genesis narrative it is the rainbow, which is to remind God of his covenant that he should not destroy the earth again by a flood (Gen. 9. 8-17). In the Babylonian story Ishtar's jewels fulfill this function.

- 185 On the transgressor lay his transgression.
 Forbear, let not all be destroyed, let not the innocent(?) be . . .
 Why hast thou sent a deluge?
 Had a lion come and mankind lessened!
 Why hast thou sent a deluge?
- 190 Had a leopard come and mankind lessened?
 Why hast thou sent a deluge?
 Had a famine come and the land [destroyed!]
 Why hast thou sent a deluge?
 Had Nergal come and mankind [slain!]
- 195 I have not divulged the decision of the great gods.
 I made Atrakhasis¹ see a dream, and so he heard the god's decision."

This last passage contains a most interesting indication of the differences between the gods of the Babylonian pantheon. Here is Ea upbraiding Bel for bringing on the flood. He thinks that he might have punished sinners by a lion, by a leopard, by a famine, and not have brought such desolation upon the whole human family. But for Ea's intervention even the good Ut-napishtim might also have perished. It was he alone who saved him by giving a warning. Bel is moved by the reproof, as we shall now see:

¹ Atrakhasis means "the very clever" (*der Erzgescheite*, Jeremias). It is here a sort of surname of Ut-napishtim. There are, however, some small texts, for example, British Museum DT, 42 (see Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, 2te Auf., p. 233; Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testaments*, 2te Auf., pp. 94f.), in which Atrakhasis is the only name of the deluge hero. Berosus calls the Babylonian Noah, Xisuthros, which may be some sort of metathesis of this Atrakhasis (so George Smith); but see Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, p. 436, footnote 1.

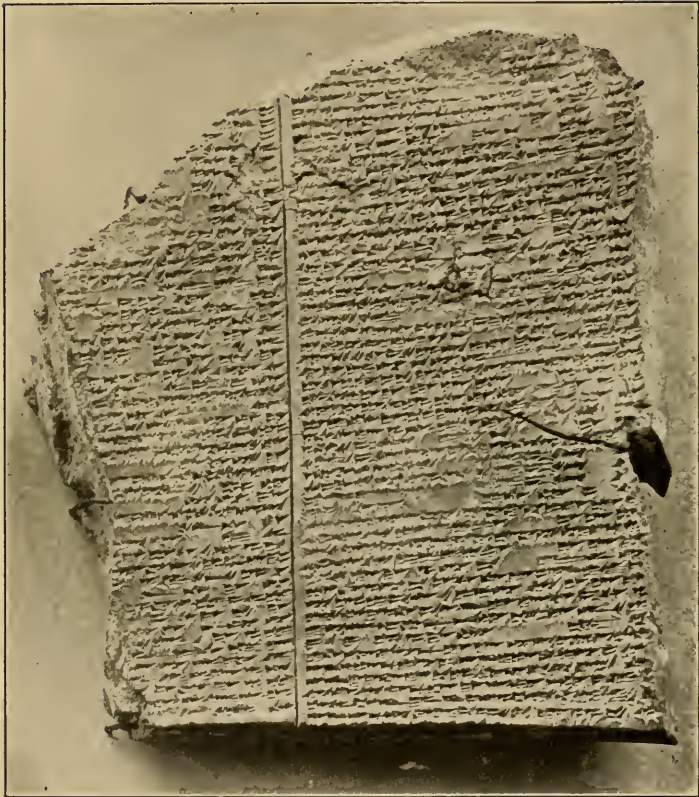


FIGURE XX.—THE STORY OF THE DELUGE
REVERSE

A duplicate of Figures XVII and XVIII

- When he came to reason,
Bel went up into the ship.
He took my hand, [and] brought me forth.
200 He brought forth my wife, and made her kneel at
my side,
He turned us toward each other, he stood between us,
he blessed us:
"Formerly Ut-napishtim was of mankind, but
Now let Ut-napishtim and his wife be like the gods,
even us,
Lt Ut-napishtim dwell afar off at the mouth of the
rivers.
205 They took me and afar off, at the mouth of the rivers,
they made me to dwell."

Here at the very last comes the explanation which Gilgames had asked, concerning the residence of Ut-napishtim. And the place which is here indicated is not the mouth of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, nor the wider waters of the Persian Gulf, but rather the far-distant waters of the Mediterranean, or even the big Atlantic outside the straits of Gibraltar; for so may we then reconcile this eleventh tablet with the story of the journey of Gilgames narrated in the ninth tablet of the epic.

That some relationship exists between this story and the biblical narrative of the flood needs no argument to prove; it stands open before the eye and beyond dispute. Especially noteworthy at even the first glance are the sending out of the birds, the divine pleasure over the sweet savor of the sacrifice, and the divine assurance that there will be no recur-

rence of the flood. The Genesis narrative is compounded of two originally separate stories, the one reaching its present form at the hands of a Judean compiler in the ninth century before Christ, and the other at the hands of a priestly writer about the exilic period.¹ The Assyrian deluge story, itself also a compilation stretching all the way from the period of Hammurabi to the age of Ashurbanipal, shows a resemblance to the priestly document especially in its account of the building of the ark, and in its mention of the covenant; but to the Judean or prophetic story in the seven days, in the sending out of the birds, and in the offering of sacrifice.

But while there are great resemblances, there are also great differences between these two accounts. In the book of Genesis the flood is sent from God as a punishment for the sins of men, and it ceases when the divine compassion is aroused, and God sets the bow in the heaven as a pledge that he will never again destroy the earth by water. On the Assyrian side the flood

¹ For the grounds of these general statements about the Genesis narrative see Driver, *The Book of Genesis*, London, 1904, and compare also his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 6th edition, London, 1897. An excellent popular presentation of the argument is to be found in Alfred Holborn, *The Pentateuch in the Light of To-Day*, being a simple introduction to the Pentateuch on the lines of Higher Criticism. Edinburgh, 1902. In German, not translated into English, is a very admirable popular account, Adalbert Merx, *Die Bücher Moses und Joshua*. Eine Einleitung für Laien. Tübingen, 1907. For the purpose of a comparison of the Genesis documents with the Babylonian story, Kent's *Student's Old Testament*, vol. i, New York, 1904, would be useful. A most valuable book.

is caused by the capricious anger of Bel, and the idea of the punishment for sin crops out only as an incidental in the conversation between Ea and Bel at the end of the story. The flood ceases because the other gods are terrified and Ishtar intercedes for her own creation. But there are even greater differences than these, for on the one side is a crass polytheism with the gods quarreling, cheating, deceiving each other, cowering like dogs in a kennel, fleeing in fear into the higher heaven, and "gathering like flies over the sacrificer." On the other side is the one God, alone taking thought for the sins of men, a moral Being free of all caprice but actuated by the great moral idea of love.

What now is the relationship of these two narratives? It seems to me quite clear that the material of the Hebrew narrative goes back undoubtedly to this Babylonian original. This ancient story becomes in the hands of Hebrew prophet and priest simply the vehicle for the conveyance of a spiritual truth concerning an ethical and moral God. In the Babylonian story as the scribes of Ashurbanipal edited it there was no motive but the preservation of an interesting tale of early days, but the Old Testament has made it the medium for the carrying forward of spiritual religion. The gulf that stretches between these two is wide and deep.

And now we have passed in review the broad

features of the religion of the Babylonian people. We have seen their great pantheon in outline, the great triad of gods that stands at the head, Anu, Bel, and Ea, and the duads of Anshar and Kishar and Lakhmu and Lakhamu that lie behind them. We have passed in review the gods of highest repute in a later day, Sin and Shamash and Ishtar, and the great city gods, Ashur and Marduk. We have come to know something of the lesser deities that run in a diminishing scale downward until only demons, good and evil, are before us. We have passed over the cosmologies and have seen how these gifted peoples have thought of the wonder of sky and earth and men and animals, and from these we have gone on to matters of less moving interest, to books of magic and incantations, and then upward again have passed by splendid hymns into solemn psalms of penitence and of prayer. Thence have we made the great circuit round to the myths, glowing sometimes with beauty and color, and then to the great epics, at once the flower of Assyrian poesy and the highest outreach of the Babylonian religion in its effort to lift men to an interest in things divine. We have come all the way from a primitive animism to a highly organized polytheism surrounded by great gardens of theological speculation ending in a hope for existence, a dark, dull existence, indeed, and not a vivid life after death, but still

a hope better than the dread of extinction. And now we must ask whether there is any great organizing idea which will bring all this religion and all this theology and all this speculation into one great comprehensive system. The answer to that question can only be reached after a survey of a series of modern speculations begun in ingenious suggestions, and carried on with a power of combination and a wealth of learning that are alike worthy of respect and deserving of examination.

The theory that the whole religion of Babylonia and Assyria, nay, practically the whole of the serious thinking and writing of both realms, rests down upon a *Weltanschauung*, a great *theory of the universe*, owes its origin and exposition at least in its chief form to Professor Hugo Winckler, of the University of Berlin, who in a series of volumes and in numerous pamphlets¹ has heaped suggestion upon suggestion and then organized them all into one

¹ Professor Winckler's contributions to exposition of this theory are so numerous that it is scarcely possible to do more than indicate a few of them. I hope that I have here cited a sufficient number to give to any searcher a fair idea of the whole theory:

Hugo Winckler, *Geschichte Israels in Einzeldarstellungen*. Theil ii. *Die Legende*. Leipzig, 1900.—*Die Weltanschauung des Alten Orients*, in *Ex oriente lux* I, 1.—*Himmels- und Weltenbild der Babylonier als Grundlage der Weltanschauung und Mythologie aller Völker*, in *Der Alte Orient*, 3. Leipzig, 1902.—*Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3te Auf., Theil i.—*Die babylonische Geisteskultur in ihren Beziehungen zur Kulturentwicklung der Menschheit (Wissenschaft u. Bildung, Heft 13)*. Leipzig, 1907.—*Altorientalische Geschichtsauffassung*. *Ex oriente lux* II. Leipzig, 1906. "Astronomisch-mythologisches," in *Altorientalische Forschungen (1901-05)*. Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch (1901).

grand whole. The views of Winckler have been accepted by Dr. Alfred Jeremias, pastor of the great Luther-Church in Leipzig, and a Privat-Dozent in the University of Leipzig. They have also found acceptance, at least in some of the contentions, by Professor Heinrich Zimmern, of the University of Leipzig, and one of the greatest of modern Assyriologists. The theory owes very much of its growing importance to Jeremias, whose important contributions to the detailed study of the Babylonian religion have won for him universal respect, while his great powers of exposition have made him a valuable helper in the work of popularizing the new doctrine.¹

The doctrine is complicated, and even those who accept it in the main decline it in particular, and its exposition here is difficult. I can do no more than to sketch it in outline in the form which it takes in the writings especially of Winckler and Jeremias.

According, then, to these scholars the Babylonians conceived of the cosmos as divided primarily into a heavenly and an earthly world, each of which is further subdivided into three parts. The heavenly world consists of

¹ See especially Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, 2te Auf., Leipzig, 1906, an able and extremely useful book to which I have already made frequent reference. See further Jeremias, *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*. Leipzig, 1905. *Im Kampfe um den Alten Orient*. 1907. *Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie*. Leipzig, 1908.

(a) the northern heaven, (b) the zodiac, and (c) the heavenly ocean; while the earthly world consists of (a) the heaven, that is, the air above the earth, (b) the earth itself, and (c) the waters beneath the earth. By the side of this there exists also a simpler division of three into the heaven, the earth, and the waters beneath the earth. The visible heaven consists of a solid firmament with two doors for the entrance and exit of the sun. Above this is the great heaven, the abode of the gods. The earth is a round plane, beneath it the waters and the dark abode of the dead.

These great subdivisions are ruled by gods, as I have already tried to show in the second lecture—Anu in the heaven above, Bel in the earth and air, and Ea in the waters beneath. According to Winckler, Anu presides over the upper heaven, and over the north pole of earth, while Bel is lord of the zodiac and of the earth, and Ea rules over the southern heaven, the heavenly ocean, and the waters of earth and the waters beneath.

More important than all these details is the zodiac, the twelve heavenly figures which span the heavens, and through which the moon passes every month, the sun once a year, and the five great planets that are visible to the naked eye have their course. These moving stars serve as the interpreters of the divine will, while the fixed stars, so says Jeremias, are

related thereto as the commentary written on the margin of the book of revelation.¹ The rulers of the zodiac are Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar, and according to the law of correspondence the divine power manifested in them is identical with the power of Anu, Bel, and Ea. The zodiac represents the world-cycle in the year, and also in the world-year. Therefore each one of these gods may represent the total divine power, which reveals itself in the cycle. By the side of these three, Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar, which represent respectively the Moon, the Sun, and Venus, there are ranged Marduk, which is Jupiter; Nabu, Mercury, Ninib, Mars; and Nergal, Saturn—these being the planets known to the ancients.

Now, according to Winckler and his school, upon these foundations the ancient priesthood of Babylonia built a closely knit and carefully thought-out world-system of an astral character, and this world-system forms the kernel of the ancient Oriental conception of the universe. This conception of the universe has a double-sided principle of far-reaching consequence. First, the heavenly world with its three divisions corresponds exactly to the earthly world with its three divisions. Herein lies the great fundamental leading idea of the

¹ "Der Tierkreis ist das Buch der Offenbarung Gottes, die Erscheinungen des Fixsternhimmels sind gewissermassen der an den Rand geschriebene Kommentar."—*Jeremias, op. cit.*, p. 45.

entire system. Everything on earth corresponds to its counterpart in heaven. In heaven every god has a distinct district, a *τέμενος*, a *templum*, beneath his sway, and in like manner he has a corresponding district on earth in which is his temple. Over this earthly district there is a king, appointed by the god, and in him the god is incarnated. Herein, according to Winckler, is the explanation of the divisions of territory found in the ancient Orient, and the assignment to each of a separate Baal, or god.

But as the lands correspond to heavenly entities, so also do the cities, each of them representing a cosmic point, and each one of them having its counterpart in heaven; there above is the god of each city, who below on earth is represented by his image in the temple, and there above does he order and direct all that happens below. From above also comes the whole system of numeration. From the sidereal and the astral-mythological changes there accrue a large number of sacred or typical figures. Indeed, according to Jeremias, "all numbers are holy,"¹ and if here and there certain numbers stand out above others, it is to be explained as the influence of some religious calendar system. The fundamental numbers are five and seven, which are the numbers of the interpreters of the divine will in the heavens.

¹ "Alle Zahlen sind heilig."—*Jeremias, op. cit.*, p. 56.

From these the sexagesimal system is derived, for $5 + 7 = 12$; $5 \times 12 = 60$.

So, in everything, there exists, according to this theory, a harmony between heaven and earth. Heaven is, in large and in small, a mirror of earth. The macrocosm and the microcosm display the same peculiarities; and the same powers, each working in its own sphere, bring forth the same cosmical harmony.

The other, or second side of the organizing principle, is found in the great time divisions. The course of the great stars gives the time divisions of the calendar—day, year, world-year, or world-era or world-period. This world-era has its boundaries in the position of the equinoctial point in the zodiac. A new world-era begins whenever the sun on the spring equinox enters a new sign in the zodiac. According to the theory the position of the sun in the vernal equinox moves eastward from year to year. In seventy-two years it moves one day, and in about 2,200 years one month. The period of 2,200 years forms, therefore, a world-period. At the present day the sun at the vernal equinox is in the sign of the Fish. In the age before this it was in the sign of the Ram. This era began in the eighth century before Christ, at the beginning of the reign of King Nabonassar (747 B.C.), who introduced a new calendar. Before that period was the era of the Bull. Each of these world-eras is ruled

by some deity; thus, in the era of the Twins (6000–4000 B.C.) ruled Sin, in the era of the Bull (3000–1000 B.C.) Marduk was the ruler of the world. From the æon of Sin come the hymns of Sin, and from the Bull era come the hymns addressed to Marduk, and in this same era occurred the great political change by which Babylon became the center of the world and Marduk the chief of all the gods.

And now we are come to the crux of the whole matter, to the one point toward which this whole theory tends, to that issue which if it be really true requires all our views of the entire past history and religion and literature of antiquity to be changed. Let me take unusual precautions to state it with exactness and with fairness to Professor Winckler, to Dr. Jeremias, and to all who in part or whole do hold with them.

Assuming all that I have just been stating concerning earth and heaven to be true—that the heavens are a mirror of earth; that the gods reveal their will and purpose in the heavens, and all the other principles and ideas therewith connected which I have just passed in review—then it follows that the heavens have become a great book of reference in which may be discerned not only all that may hereafter come to pass, but also all that has heretofore happened among men. Everything which has happened is only an earthly copy of a heavenly original,

and there it is still writ above, and still there to be read. All this was important enough for practical everyday life in ancient times, but for us who are trying to learn what actually has happened among men in the far-distant past it is of enormous moment. For, according to Winckler, all the myths and all the legends of the ancient world are hereby to be interpreted. Nothing even in history, properly so called, is to be understood otherwise. "An Oriental history without consideration of the world-era is unthinkable. The stars rule the changes of the times" (Jeremias).¹ According to this view astrology is the last word of science in antiquity. There is no view of myth or legend or history to be taken without it. But it sweeps out far beyond Babylonia and Assyria. All peoples of antiquity come within its scope. Is there a mystery anywhere, this ancient Oriental conception of the universe will explain it. Naturally enough, Israel is swept within its province. Saul is the Moon, and David is Marduk, and Solomon is Nabu. The entire literature of Israel, all her history, all her theology, all her thinking are, so this theory would have it, but the outworking of the Babylonian idea. Everything in Israel is Babylon, and Babylon is everything. It is indeed a

¹ "Eine orientalische Geschichtsdarstellung ohne Rechnung mit Weltzeitaltern ist nicht denkbar. Die Gestirne regieren den Wechsel der Zeiten."—*Jeremias, op. cit.*, p. 69.

momentous change in all our thinking which is here proposed. Dr. Jeremias has no hesitation in speaking of it as an "epoch-making discovery, of far-reaching consequence for the understanding of the Old Testament manner of speech."

And now we must come to the testing of these things. Are they true in whole or in part? If they are true at all, in how far may they be accepted as of consequence in making up our view of the Old Testament literature and religion?

Let us, then, begin by freely and gladly admitting the immense debt of Old Testament literature to the great Babylonian world. There is no secret about this, it lies open to the eye of even the casual reader, and the Old Testament writers themselves freely and openly admitted it. The first eleven chapters of Genesis in their present form, as also in the original documents into which modern critical research has traced their origin, bear eloquent witness to Babylonia as the old home of the Hebrew people and of their collection of sacred stories. But besides this there are scattered in many other places evidences clear and indisputable of the influence of Babylonian literature and thinking upon the Hebrews. It were idle to enumerate all these, or even to attempt to do so in the limited space of this one lecture. The few that I do mention will suggest others to

any thoughtful mind familiar with the splendid words of the prophets, poets, lawgivers, and wise men of Israel.

Heaven and earth are familiar enough in the Old Testament, but we catch also an echo of the threefold division in the command to make "no graven image, nor any likeness of *any thing* that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth."¹ In the heaven of heavens is God's throne; while beneath the waters under the earth is the dark abode of the dead, the Abaddon or Hades. But in all these allusions to heavens and earth I find no sign or sound of any Babylonian theory of the universe. The stars indeed find frequent mention, but only as the works of Jahweh. "To whom then," says the great exilic prophet, "To whom then will ye liken me, that I should be equal to *him*? saith the Holy One. Lift up your eyes on high, and see who hath created these, that bringeth out their host by number; he calleth them all by name; by the greatness of his might, and for that he is strong in power, not one is lacking."² The star-worship did indeed penetrate into Israel through the influence of the Canaanites, whose cities in their very names bear witness to this cult—Beth-shemesh, the house of the sun; Ir-shemesh, the city of the sun—

¹ Exod. 20. 4.

² Isa. 40. 25, 26.

but all this was everywhere and always denounced by the prophets as utterly inconsistent with worship of Jahweh. Hear the ringing words of Deuteronomy: "Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves, . . . lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou be drawn away and worship them, and serve them."¹ Nay, these prophetic spirits hate the whole star cult with a burning hate, and will put to death any who are enticed by it.² They sneer at the poor dupes who have taken any thought of its importance. "Let now the astrologers [literally, the dividers of the heavens], the star-gazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from the things that shall come upon thee."³ From the observation of the heavens this prophet knows well enough that naught may be learned of past or of future. All that rests in Jahweh's hand, and it will not be declared through the stars, which are merely his creatures. According to the Winckler theory the stars are the very center of the whole theory, and from these few passages it must be plain that in all these things Israel kept her own course, diverging widely from the entire astrological system which he has wrought out.

¹ Deut. 4. 15, 19.

² Deut. 17. 2ff.

³ Isa. 47. 13.

There is no need to deny that the poets of Israel used Babylonian mythical and legendary material as a means of poetical adornment, somewhat as Milton used the richer mythical materials of Greece and Rome; the only point that I wish strongly to emphasize is that Israel's religious literature affords absolutely no proof of the existence in Israel's thinking of any such theory of the universe as Winckler has imagined.

But I must take one step further on this delicate and difficult ground, and venture to say that I am quite unable to accept Winckler's theory that the Babylonians or the Assyrians ever had in their own speculations any such conception of the universe as he has so laboriously wrought out. This theory has everything to commend it in the extraordinary ingenuity with which it is conceived and the splendid learning with which it is urged, but it lacks altogether the one greatest of all needs, and that is evidence. There is, indeed, evidence enough for many of the *single* features which Winckler has combined, but with all good will and temper and with long searching in Winckler's writings and in the original texts I cannot find the evidence for the conception of the universe which, according to the theory, lies at the base of all Babylonian thinking and writing. It is, I think, not unfair to say that the theory continually plays fast and loose with

the religious facts as the actual texts reveal them, and applies them now in one way and now in another. It is likewise undeniable that many of the astrological materials are quite otherwise explained by Professor Jensen and in still other ways by Professor Hommel, each of whom has astrological theories of his own.

The strangest thing about the great system seems to me to be the confidence with which it is urged. The chief author and all who have coöperated with him or expounded the theory to wider circles seem not to realize that this effort to unlock all doors with one key, to explain all mysteries with one theory, has been repeatedly tried before and has always gone down to failure. Perhaps the most striking of these failures is the magnificent effort of Charles François Dupuis. It all began with an investigation of the origin of the Greek months. From that he passed to a study of the constellations, and thence to an attempt to locate the origin of the zodiac. To him it seemed only necessary to discover the land and the period "in which the constellation of *Capricorn* must have arisen with the sun on the day of the summer solstice and the vernal equinox must have occurred under *Libra*." After prolonged investigation, carried out with prodigious learning and wonderful ingenuity, he arrived at the conclusion that Upper Egypt was the land and that a period of between fifteen and sixteen

thousand years before the present time was the time when the signs of the zodiac originated. His books on these subjects,¹ with their beautiful plates, are a melancholy example of misdirected labor, and ought to serve to make others less confident who follow in somewhat similar lines. For Champollion showed readily enough that the Egyptian use of the zodiac dates only to the Greco-Roman period, and the whole theory crumbled at once to pieces. But before this had happened Dupuis had gone on to use this principle, which he believed he had discovered, to erect a tremendous system by which he sought to explain the origin of all religions.² The learning of the book is fairly staggering. It excited at the time great and bitter controversy, and then, without any particular disproof, its theories melted quietly away like the morning mists and disappeared.

But men are slow to learn by such examples,

¹ Dupuis, *Mémoire sur l'Origine des Constellations et sur l'Explication de la Fable par l'Astronomie*. Quarto. Paris, 1781. Also *Mémoire Explicatif du Zodiaque Chronologique et Mythologique*, Ouvrage contenant le Tableau comparatif des Maisons de la Lune chez les différens Peuples de l'Orient, et celui des plus anciennes observations qui s'y lient, d'après les Egyptiens, les Chinois, les Perses, les Arabes, les Chaldéens et les Calendriers grecs. Quarto. Paris, 1806. Containing a beautiful copper-plate of the zodiac, showing its connections with many different peoples. Let not the reader fail to observe in the title of this second work how very wide was the sweep of Dupuis's claim to explain the problems of ancient astronomy and astrology. It affords a most curious parallel to certain recent speculations.

² Dupuis, *Origine de tous les Cultes, ou Religion Universelle*. Paris, 1794. Nouvelle édition, 10 vols., 1835-1836. A curious fragment of it was translated into English under the title *Christianity a Form of the Great Solar Myth*, from the French of Dupuis. London, n. d.

and the failure of Dupuis did not prevent Professor Friedrich Max Müller and George William Cox¹ from bringing out a new explication of the so-called Solar Myth by which they hoped to explain many mythological difficulties and not a few of their origins. Of all this theory it is now possible for Andrew Lang to say: "Twenty years ago the philological theory of the Solar Myth was preached as 'scientific' in the books, primers, and lectures of popular science. To-day its place knows it no more."²

I have discussed the Babylonian religion in its broad outlines, and as one point after

¹ George William Cox, *The Mythology of Aryan Nations*. London, 1874.

² Andrew Lang, *Homer and His Age*, p. ix. London, 1906. This Solar Myth theory in its day attempted to explain almost everything in a number of realms. It drew forth a most amusing answer, extremely clever in its use of the terminology of the theory, by R. F. Littledale. This was published anonymously (in *Kottabos*, Trinity College, Dublin, 1870, pp. 145ff. It has been reprinted in R. Y. Tyrrell and E. Sullivan, *Echoes from Kottabos*, London, 1906, pp. 279. It was even translated into German, *Wer war Max Müller*. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Mythologie, Aus dem Englischen von K. Fr. Leipzig, n. d.). The eminent Hellenist, Professor B. L. Gildersleeve, of Baltimore (*American Journal of Philology*, 1906, vol. xxvii, p. 359; compare also *ibid.*, 1908, vol. xxix, p. 117), says of it: "Twenty-five years ago there would have been some point in the ridicule of the sun-myth. Much true glory was gained by an article in the *Kottabos*, which proved on Max Müller's principles that Max Müller himself was a solar myth; and there would have been a certain relish in the application of the method to Eumaïos, the divine swineherd with his twelve months of sties and his three hundred and sixty boars of days, but there is nothing more deplorable than the elaborate interpretation of deceased jests; and it is hardly worth while to resuscitate Paley's interpretation of the 'Odyssey' in order to vitalize a joke." Perhaps one might dare to say that these new expositions of a supposed Babylonian theory of the universe are no more secure than the theories of Dupuis, Max Müller, and Cox, and that "like a wave shall they pass and be passed."

another passed in review I have tried carefully and accurately to show wherein the Hebrew people had borrowed materials which were afterward used in their noble literature. I have not wittingly passed over any single borrowing of moment, which the researches of recent years have made known to us. When all these are added up and placed together they are small in number and insignificant in size when compared with all the length and breadth and height of Israel's literature. Furthermore, whatever was borrowed was stamped with Israel's genius. The creation story, the flood story, we have seen how these leaned upon Babylonia for the mere stuff out of which a wholly new fabric was woven. The word "sabbath" is Babylonian indeed, but the great social and religious institution which it represents in Israel is not Babylonian, but distinctively Hebrew. The divine name Jahweh appears among other peoples, and passes in a long cycle over into Babylonia, perhaps from some west Canaanite stock. But the spiritual God who bears the name in Israel is no Babylonian or Kenite deity. The Babylonians during all their history, during all their speculations, never conceived a God like unto him. He belongs to the Hebrews, and no other people can take away from Israel this glory, for the glory of Israel is Jahweh.

The gods of Babylonia are connected, in some way that we can no longer determine, with

primitive animism or they are merely local deities; the God of Israel is a God revealed in history. He brought Israel out of Egypt. He is continually made known to his people through the prophets as a God revealed in history.

The religion of Israel is not developed out of Babylonian polytheism.[?] Babylonian polytheism existed as polytheism in the earliest periods of which we have even the semblance of knowledge, and it endured as polytheism unto the end. The religion of Israel, on the other hand, however humble some of its material origins may be, moved steadily upward and onward till the great monotheistic idea found universal acceptance in Israel. The religions of Moab and Edom, of Philistia and Phœnicia, were subject to the same play of influences from Babylonia and from Egypt, but naught came of it all—no larger faith developed out of them. In Israel alone ethical monotheism arose, spread its wings, and took its flight over all the world. The religion borrowed indeed material things. I have said it again and again. But, as another has said, the elephant which produced the ivory dare not boast itself as the creator of the Athene which the skill of Phidias had wrought out of the dead matter. Whatever Israel took it transformed.

What shall I say at last of all this, but solemnly and earnestly to avow the conviction

that the origin of Israel's religion, the motive power of its mighty and resistless progress, is to be sought in a personal revelation of God in history, and that this personal revelation looks forward to the kingdom that was to be, when Judaism had passed over her carefully guarded body of truth to the Christianity which was to be born within her portals. The explanation of the religion of Israel is not to be sought in the religion of Babylonia which lies behind, outworn and useless, but in the living Christianity which stands before it.

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